

331.84
B937l

THE LEES AND RAPER

MEMORIAL LECTURE.

LABOUR & DRINK

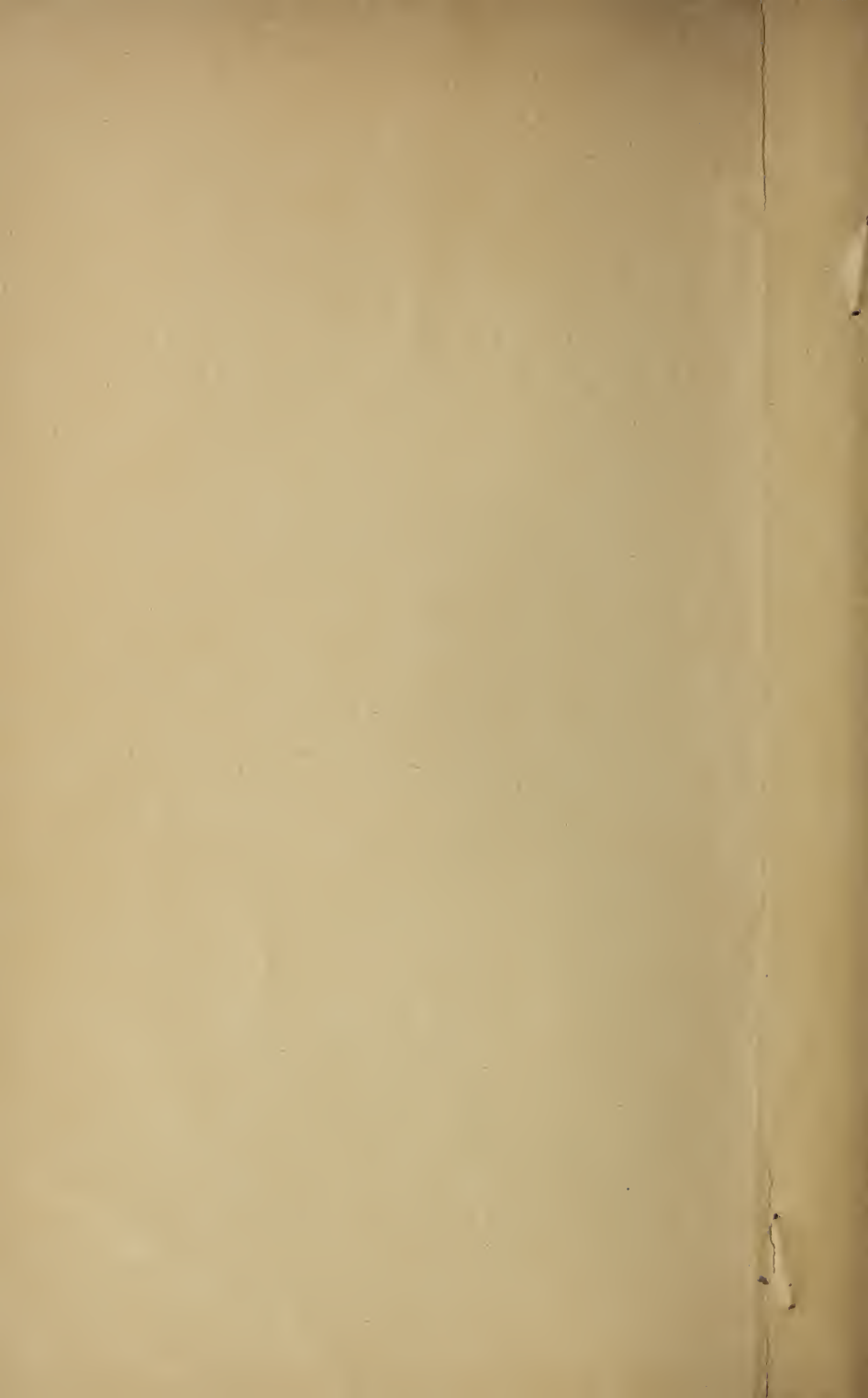
BY

JOHN BURNS, M.P., L.C.C.

London :

KENT & MATTHEWS, LTD., 180 Wandsworth Road, S.W.

PRICE THREEPENCE.



THE LEES AND RAPER MEMORIAL LECTURE.

LABOUR and DRINK

BY

JOHN BURNS, M.P., L.C.C.

London:

KENT & MATTHEWS, LTD., PUBLISHERS,
180 WANDSWORTH ROAD, S.W.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

331.84

B937b

London

KENT & MATTHEWS, LTD
Trade Union Printers,
WANDSWORTH ROAD, CLAPHAM JUNCTION
and BALHAM HILL, S.W.

The Lees and Raper Lectureship.

By JOHN KEMPSTER, *Hon. Secretary to the Trustees.*

THE Lectureship was founded in 1897 to perpetuate the memory and continue the work of two remarkable men who will long be remembered as amongst the most powerful pioneers and teachers of the great Temperance movement.

Dr. Frederic Richard Lees was a voluminous and trenchant writer, and a skilful platform advocate and debater. He largely created the science of Temperance by laying down its foundation principles in every aspect—Biblical, medical, moral, historical and political. The truths he taught half-a-century ago have only been endorsed and proved by the later scientists of such eminence as Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson, Sir Victor Horsley, and Professor Sims Woodhead. Thousands of thoughtful men in all ranks of society received from Dr. Lees that grounding in the science of Temperance which made them valiant workers, well equipped to refute the arguments of opponents, and to win converts to the cause of personal abstinence and legal prohibition.

James Hayes Raper was best known as a brilliant platform orator. He was also one of the most astute and guarded of counsellors and politicians. His handsome and charming personality, rich and flexible voice, fluent speech, together with his strong common sense, wide information, and marvellous power of adapting argument and illustrations to the needs of every possible audience and occasion, made him a great power in convincing the intellects and hearts of his hearers. As a speaker he became an unfailing attraction to large public gatherings in all parts of the United Kingdom. He was also able to exert a splendid influence upon Members of Parliament and leading statesmen.

Both these good men passed away in the month of May, 1897, and a fund was then subscribed for the foundation of this lectureship, and was invested in an annuity for twenty years to meet the expenses of an annual lecture by some man of eminent standing, able to speak with authority, and to command public attention, upon some particular phase of the Temperance question.

The first lecture of the series was given by the Dean of Canterbury, the Very Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., the second by Professor Sir Victor Horsley, M.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.S., the third by Mr. T. P. Whittaker, M.P., the fourth by Professor Sims Woodhead, M.D., Professor of Pathology, Cambridge University.

The following lecture was delivered by Mr. John Burns in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on the 31st of October, 1904. The crowded audience received it with spell-bound attention and unlimited applause. It was acknowledged to be a masterpiece alike of conclusive, comprehensiveness, and of sustained power. The Trustees would strongly urge its wide circulation amongst all classes of the community.

LABOUR AND DRINK

By JOHN BURNS, M.P., L.C.C.

IN all countries, at every period, amongst all sections of people, over every class in varying grades of population, drink and drunkenness have been alternately an active cause of social degradation, moral decadence, or political decline. No section of society has escaped its greater ravages or avoided its minor evils. Its physical, moral and mental disorders have affected peasant and merchant, serf and emperor, soldier and statesman, rich and poor. The scholar has sunk beneath it, the priest, politician, artist and craftsman have sacrificed efficiency or probity, character or capacity, in the vitiating allurements that drink offers them in its demoralising yet fascinating charms.

Through all the ages it has evoked the greatest condemnation where it has been most extensively used.

But for drink being the mistaken medium of hospitality, the delusive sign of personal generosity, it would have been as much denounced, abandoned, or tabooed as surfeit gluttony and abuse in other things have been in the minds and at the hands of cultured people. The drinking habits of the poorer classes have everywhere contributed to their political dependence, industrial bondage, personal debasement, civic inferiority and domestic misery.

The tavern throughout the centuries has been the ante-chamber to the workhouse, the chapel of ease to the asylum, the recruiting station for the hospital, the rendezvous of the gambler, the gathering ground for the gaol. Alcohol pollutes whatever it touches. It enervates where it does not enslave. It destroys slowly what it does not degrade quickly. For the individual it is a malignant disease, for the community it is a murrain, for the nation it has become a self-inflicted obstacle to all phases of progress, and it lies athwart the path of personal reformation, municipal progress and State amelioration; obstructing all the forces of slow remedial reform and rapid changes to industrial elevation.

There is no class in ancient, nor any section of modern society on which the evil of drink or the scourge of drunkenness has so mischievously impressed its destructive effect and sterilising influence than on the class who can least resist it--the industrious poor, the working classes, on whom the lot of manual labour falls.

Of all sections of society, the working class, the most important, because the most numerous, feels with cumulative effect, because otherwise burdened, the terrible handicap that drink imposes on them in the race of life. "Slow rises worth by poverty depressed," under the best conditions.

With Bacchus as their friend and Silenus as their guide, there is but one path for the poor to follow, and that the downward one.

Drinking is bad enough in the prosperous, well-fed and comfortable classes, who can mitigate its heavy drain upon their health, strength, and resources by rest, change, and counter attractions. But on the poor it is an additional load, piled upon their own backs too often by their own hands, and nearly always at the time they are least able to bear it. From their strength as a class, from their powers of endurance as individuals, and from their capacity as craftsmen it is a never ending drain.

It excites where it does not divert their best faculties and qualities. It irritates where it does not brutalise, and makes for discord, strife and bitterness, where calmness, sobriety, kindness and decency should prevail. It is an aid to laziness, and is often an incentive to the most exhausting and reckless work; it is the most insidious foe to independence of character; it undermines manhood, enervates maternity, and dissipates the best elements of human nature as no other form of surfeit does. It stimulates all the lusts of the flesh as no other form of excess is capable of doing, as the records of human depravity, misery, and brutality too often reveal. As was said of it by Lord Brougham, it is the mother of want and the nurse of crime.

The outstanding feature of its evil influence is that it yields no compensation for the transient debauch, the evanescent stimulant, the forced and ludicrous gaiety that it excites in or inflicts upon its victim votaries and his associates. "The vine bears three clusters—the first of pleasure, the second of intoxication, the third of outrage." Or as Cassio says of it: "To be now a sensible man, by and by a fool, and presently a beast."

Thus was drinking described by Epictetus in the long ago, and by Shakespeare in more recent days, when life was simpler, drink was purer, and the claims upon mankind were neither physically nor mentally so great as they now are in this age of competition and exacting industry. And the evil that they then attributed to drink has through the ages increased as the years have grown. Heredity has enlarged the area of its subtle force, and time, tradition and custom have strengthened or extended its evil and transmitted effects over wider areas and larger populations. The result of this time-

worn incubus, this sensuous heritage, this ancient folly that blights modern mankind, is that all rational people and thoughtful minds are bent upon checking its ravages, confining its area, reducing its power, and substituting for its evil charms and degrading influence a more excellent alternative as diet, drink, pleasure, or diversion than alcoholic liquors afford. In doing this, one would realise what Milton foresaw and demanded when he said: "And so doing would utterly remove a most loathsome sin and not impair the health or the refreshment of mankind supplied many other ways."

As a contribution to the solution of this problem I wish, as a skilled workman who has spent his life in helping unskilled labour, as a legislator and municipal councillor, to present the facts about Labour and Drink from the point of view of a Labour Leader. In so doing, at the outset I must state that I am prejudiced against Drink in so far that I am a life abstainer from intoxicating liquor. So far, my knowledge of drunkenness consists in always being sober, with me that is sufficient. My knowledge of drinking consists in pitiful yet sympathetic observation of the indulgence of others. Where this is moderate it is a loss of time, money and health. Where it is excessive it is foolish, wasteful and destructive. Where it goes further and ends in the chronic inebriate, then it ceases to be either pitiful or tolerable, and becomes a danger to the community. My experience of the workshop, the street, the asylum, the gaol, have given me exceptional opportunities of seeing the ravages of alcohol. My participation in many of the greatest Labour movements of the present generation has enabled me to witness how drinking dissipates the social force, industrial energy and political strength of the people. The general summary of my life's experience amongst the working classes of this and other countries in sharing their aims, voicing their ideals, championing their causes, leading their movements, a sentinel on the outworks of their social hopes, is that Drink with too many of them is their bane, drunkenness their curse, excessive drinking their greatest defect. From every aspect of their individual, social and political condition it is the worst, as it is the chief cause of many of the difficulties that beset and burden them as workman, husband, father, breadwinner and citizen. Karl Marx described the British workman as the prize fighter of the international army of Labour.

• If that be true, as it certainly is, their physical, mental and moral fitness for their manifold responsibilities would be keener and more effective if they always displayed the abstinence from liquor by which alone athletic vigour can be secured.

The Waste of Drink.

Nationally it is the greatest item of our Imperial spending. It represents a sum of appalling size when one understands the wasteful, non-productive character of its expenditure.

If the waste stopped at the direct money cost, the trouble would be large though computable, but the evil of drink is that its chief mischief only begins when it has passed into circulation, and it returns after many days in crime, disorder, disease, squalor, and all the abomination that drink causes. How much so was stated by the Preamble of Gin Act, 1736:—"Whereas "the drinking of spirituous liquors or strong waters is "become very common, especially among the people of lower "and inferior rank, the constant and excessive use whereof "tends greatly to the destruction of their health, rendering them "unfit for useful labour and business, debauching their morals "and making them to perpetrate all manner of vices; and the ill "consequences of such liquors are not confined to the present "generation, but extend to future ages and tend to the devastation and ruin of this kingdom."

Set out in tables here are the records of national waste:—

THE RETROSPECTIVE DRINK BILL.

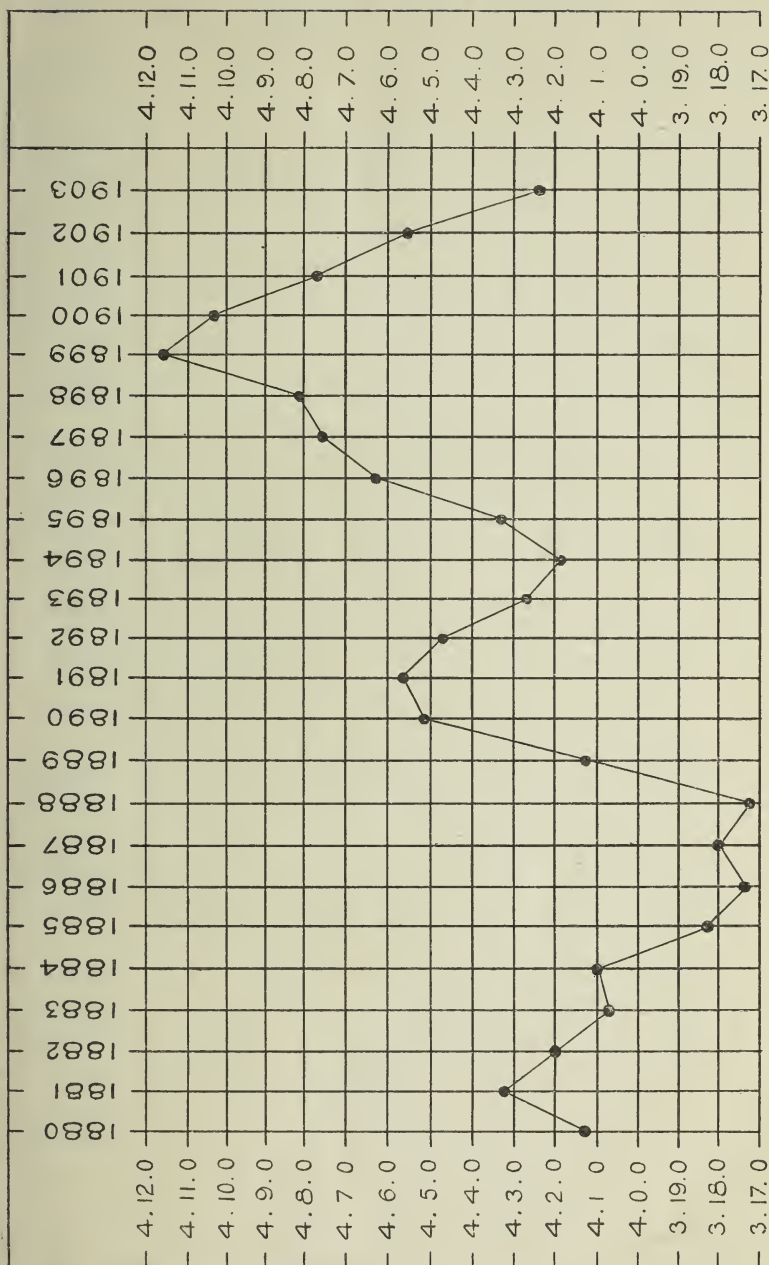
Estimated and Revised by the Rev. Dawson Burns, D.D.

Year.	Estimated Expenditure (revised).	Per Head.	Year.	Estimated Expenditure (revised).	Per Head.
	£	£ s. d.		£	£ s. d.
1880	140,130,055	4 1 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1892	161,527,717	4 4 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1881	145,538,760	4 3 4	1893	159,020,709	4 2 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
1882	144,707,971	4 2 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1894	158,932,134	4 1 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1883	143,887,204	4 0 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	1895	163,133,935	4 3 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1884	144,734,214	4 1 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	1896	170,426,467	4 6 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1885	141,039,141	3 18 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1897	174,365,372	4 7 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
1886	140,550,126	3 17 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	1898	176,967,349	4 8 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
1887	142,784,438	3 18 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	1899	185,927,227	4 11 8
1888	142,426,153	3 17 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1900	184,881,196	4 10 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
1889	151,064,035	4 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1901	181,788,245	4 7 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
1890	159,542,700	4 5 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1902	179,499,817	4 5 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
1891	161,765,291	4 5 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1903	174,445,271	4 2 4

The total estimated expenditure of the nation on intoxicating liquors in the last twenty-five years thus amounts to £4,000,000,000, or an annual average of just upon 160 millions.

Its annual movement can be seen at a glance by the following diagram.

CHART SHOWING ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON ALCOHOLIC DRINKS PER HEAD OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM 1880-1903 (REVISED CALCULATIONS.)



DRINK BILL RESULTS AND REVENUE.

Year.	United Kingdom expenditure per head.			Persons tried for drunkenness in England & Wales.	Proportion of persons tried for drunkenness per 100,000 population in England & Wales	Revenue from drink.
	£	s.	d.			£
1880	4	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	172,859	672	29,614,496
1881	4	3	4	174,481	669	29,497,666
1882	4	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	189,697	718	31,037,733
1883	4	0	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	192,905	720	31,001,587
1884	4	1	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	198,274	730	30,965,290
1885	3	18	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	183,221	673	30,770,161
1886	3	17	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	165,139	600	29,606,310
1887	3	18	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	162,772	584	29,354,193
1888	3	17	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	166,366	591	29,744,188
1889	4	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	174,331	612	29,956,150
1890	4	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	189,746	659	29,256,136
1891	4	5	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	187,293	644	30,202,138
1892	4	4	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	173,929	591	31,103,005
1893	4	2	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	168,927	567	33,989,732
1894	4	1	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	178,722	594	34,015,699
1895	4	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	169,298	556	34,632,496
1896	4	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	187,258	608	35,850,804
1897	4	7	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	193,276	620	36,662,142
1898	4	8	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	202,498	642	37,612,506
1899	4	11	8	214,298	672	38,753,969
1900	4	10	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	204,266	633	42,452,729
1901	4	7	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	210,342	645	43,576,330
1902	4	5	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	209,908	636	41,545,143
1903	4	2	4	230,180	689	42,385,396

Taking £4 2s. 4d. per head in 1903 as the average expenditure over all classes and all the people, that figure yields from £16 to £17 per family. But this assumes that all families drink. Fortunately for those who abstain this figure does not apply to them. But to the extent that it does not, the average consumption of those who do drink is loaded with the difference. It has been variously estimated by competent statisticians of the real consumers of actual drink, making allowance for abstainers, children, non-combatants and others, that the drink bill is confined to fifty or fifty-five per cent. of the total population. This being so, it means that the average over all of £4 2s. 4d. is nearly doubled, or say £8. But if the average cost per working class family as determined by the average of the several estimates be accepted, the working class household that does drink comes out at figures varying from £16 to £18 per annum, or from 6s. to 7s. per week per family. Making every allowance for averages, for non-drinkers, for difference in consumption of working class families, I see no reason to doubt Mr. Whittaker's view that the Drink Bill which averaged £4 2s. 4d. per head over drinker and abstainer in 1903 should not be accepted as on the basis of 1901. The figures are:—

			£	s.	d.
Working classes per head	...	...	7	4	6
Other classes per head	...	...	13	10	11
Working classes per family who drink	...	...	18	15	4
Other classes	...	...	46	18	2

Of course this figure will vary up or down as the temperate or intemperate habits of the family rise or fall. But to the extent that we take from the temperate to add to the drinker, or from the working to the other classes, the aggregate amount spent is not altered, the average per family is not affected. The only thing upon which the estimate will be affected is as between different individuals in their consumption and classes in their expenditure on drink, which over so large a number and so great an amount of money does not affect the general view on which such authorities as Booth, Whittaker, Rowntree, Sherwell, Baxter, Dawson Burns, Mulhall and Levi generally concur. Whether it be 5s., 6s. or 7s. per week more or less than either of these amounts that is spent per working class family on drink, I contend it is far too much.

If the workpeople drink less than any of these amounts to that extent they are otherwise better off. If they drink more it is to their personal detriment and family misery. If other classes drink in price, quality or amount larger and superior forms of liquor they also

suffer by it, and after all is said the workman, as a producer, pays for his own undoing and the luxurious indulgence of other classes that can only be extracted out of the surplus value created by a drink-ridden working class. Sober enough to work long hours, drunken enough to be diverted from their proper share of leisure, pleasure and treasure, because their drinking habits as workmen or as a class place them at the mercy of all the forces that selfishness of individual, tyranny of employer or greed of class can bring against them. It is not in their economic stars alone, but in themselves that workmen are underlings.

True was Carlyle when he said to them years ago:—

“No man oppresses thee, O free and independent franchiser! but does not this stupid pewter pot oppress thee?”

“No son of Adam can bid thee come or go, but this absurd pot of heavy-wet can and does.

“Thou art the thrall not of Cedric the Saxon, but of thine own brutal appetites, and this accursed dish of liquor.

“And thou pratest of thy liberty thou entire blockhead.”

Drink is the Circean cup that is offered by a callous dominant class to those whom otherwise it could not enslave. Still is drink the modern sorcerer that is offered to the industrial companions of the social Ulysses in quest of better conditions, the enchanted beverage that makes men into swine.

How truly Milton saw what I feel when he said:—

“Many sober Englishmen not sufficiently awake to consider this, like men enchanted with the Circean cup of servitude, will not be held back from running their heads into the yoke of “bondage.”

The Trade Unions are living monuments of what thrift, thought and sober effort have secured for workmen and the nation. They would have been larger, more powerful, and of greater influence but for the drain upon their members and their resources which the drinking habits of the people reflect on them. Their sick pay would have been larger in amount to the individual but smaller in burden to the society but for drink. Accidents would not be so numerous, benevolent grants so frequent, or superannuation taken at so early an age if sobriety and abstinence had been more generally prevalent, both in past and present membership. They have been unfortunately hampered in extricating themselves from the contamination of drink by the necessary evil of holding their meetings at public houses—a perennial source of weakness, temptation, and discredit. Of this practice the Friendly Societies' Guide Book, 1903, says:

“There can be no doubt that meeting in a public house affords “occasions for and incentives to expenditure in liquor, even if

“not carried to intoxication, which must be prejudicial to the good management of the society or branch, especially where, as too often happens, the host is made the treasurer.”

If this be true of Friendly Societies, as it is, of Trade Unions it is particularly so, which meet more frequently, both to pay and receive money and to sign unemployed list, and record daily attendances for many reasons. It is creditable to workmen that, denied access to better places of meeting, they have not been tempted more.

Fortunately, the tendency is to rapidly alter this condition of things. This poisoning at the well springs of collective thrift, and mixing the milk of brotherhood with the rum of ruination is changing. The regrettable fact still exists, that seventy to seventy-five per cent. of trade unions have to meet at licensed premises. There is less excuse now than there was, now that town councils, public bodies, and co-operative societies, schools and other agencies are willing to give labour a home and trade unionism a meeting place, free from the cup that does not cheer but does inebriate.

Drink and International Trade.

Its personal and physical effect on the people will be shown farther on, but in comparison with other commercial nations and industrial peoples, we hold an unenviable place. In these days of international competition and trade rivalry Drink is the most important, as it is the heaviest handicap, with which we load our goods against ourselves in the markets of the world. This is seen by the following:—

Germany with fifty-six millions of people, spends on Drink	£150,000,000
At Britain's proportion	£270,000,000
Compared with us they save or divert per year to better purposes	£120,000,000
United States of America, with seventy-six millions of people, spends on Drink ...	£234,000,000
At Britain's proportion	£362,000,000
Saving	£130,000,000
Joint advantage over us in Home and Foreign markets of	£250,000,000

If even this were equally divided between employer and employed there is advantage to both and all, and in the benefit of both a common advantage to the nation, with none of the drawbacks that drink impose.

This external handicap in our international trade with foreign competitors is bad enough, but the diminished demand on our home trade, the best of all our commerce, that the wasteful drinking habits of our people is responsible for, does incalculable harm to our industrial efficiency and supremacy. In the greater employment that our present liquor expenditure would give if transferred to other and reproductive trades, there would be a stimulus to home trade and a transfer from waste to comfort of hard earned wages wantonly squandered on unremunerative, non-productive, and therefore demoralising drink.

In 1901 the much-abused Trade Unions, with all their 648 strikes and lock-outs (68 per cent. of which were wholly or partially successful), inflicted a loss of half a day per annum on all the working classes at work. This involved a cost of less than £1,000,000, for which they secured £24,000,000 in higher wages, and a net gain of 11,000,000 reduced hours of work, beyond other improved conditions. Yet on drink, betting and gambling, and the loss entailed thereby in time or money, from thirty to fifty days per annum were lost, with no advantage at all. There's restriction of output. Curiously the people who denounce strikes most are those who favour temperance least.

It may be urged that other classes besides the working classes drink ; too true, but this is no mitigation of their mistaken habit.

The undoubted fact that two-thirds of the total Drink Bill is due to the working classes is not mitigated in my judgment by the fact that they are seven-tenths of the total population and only receive less than half the total wealth. The best way to get their due proportion is for them to devote to that aim and end the money now diverted to ignoble purposes. Whether the working class consume sixty or one hundred millions of the total consumption of 180,000,000 is to me a matter of small moment. Whatever they spend they can ill afford it. If other classes spend too much, as they do, the excess of their drinking ought to be the measure of what workmen ought to appropriate from them in higher wages, shorter hours and better homes.

To divert to labour's amelioration and to a higher standard of comfort what is now wasted in licensed luxury by the rich is work that only sober, and therefore educated workmen, can bring about. It has been advanced by several superficial friends of labour that to the extent the working people abstained from drink as a class so economically would they suffer by their wages being reduced by the proportion and to the extent of their abstinence from liquor. Or, as one of them states it : " So that " if the ordinary teetotaler's utopia were realised to-morrow, it

“is to be feared the useful people of this country would be in a more poverty-stricken condition than they are in to-day.”

Another dogmatic fanatic says: “The more sober and industrious and thrifty the workers become the more dependent they become on the class which only uses them to create a surplus value which is increased by their abstinence, sobriety and temperance.”

This is an argument surely for spending nearly all, certainly more, of the wages on drink, or in proportion as you misspend or waste wages on drink so will wages rise. This is an absurd and a vicious doctrine, and places a premium on dissipation. If wages are determined by standard of comfort, as generally they are, let workmen maintain and elevate that standard by deducting from what is now spent on drink, and divert to better homes, clothing, food, holidays, pleasure, as the tendency now is, what is wasted to their undoing by going to the public house. Blackpool is better than Strangeways Prison as a recreation, as a health resort, or a change. If you must waste wages to save your standard of comfort from falling spend them on fireworks that go up rather than on fire water that goes down. One would please the children and employ more labour per shilling spent than on drink, but would not fill your hospitals, gaols, asylums or workhouses.

The claim that all dominant races are superior because they drink alcohol is absurd. The supremacy is due to other causes—machinery, education, political freedom, parliamentary liberty, and the assertiveness of all communities that have been fired by democratic progress, inventiveness, and a greater diffusion of wealth as a result of greater human energy.

This view is supported because for other reasons, mostly climatic, religious or temperamental low wages prevail in densely populated and autocratic eastern countries. This deduction is fallacious, and is not applicable to Americans and Australasians, whose wages are higher, whose hours are not longer, and whose standard of comfort, to a great extent is determined and has been secured by their superior tastes and higher standard of life, which they have only attained by giving to greater comfort, better food, clothes and other amenities what the same people, if at home, would have perhaps given to drink.

The new environment has begotten new tastes, greater scarcity of the saloon has stimulated higher desires and the freer life, and the improved social tone has resulted in his abstinence, so enlarging his outlook and desires as to induce him to demand more wages for holidays, home, and recreative pleasure, which

his drunken habits did not dream of, as when a debauch was the limit of his enjoyment.

The shortest answer to this fallacy is that the workmen who spend the least on drink have the best homes, are most regularly employed, and are better prepared to resist encroachments on their wages. The drunkard blackleg invariably undersells his fellows in the labour market to the extent of the lowness of his tastes, which rarely rise above treachery to his trade, disloyalty to his home, and contempt for the elementary virtues of thrift, sobriety and civic decency.

The argument is often advanced that if drinking ceased the extent to which labour was displaced in the liquor trades would be the measure of increased unemployment in the labour market. First, this will not come all at once (I wish it would) but gradually, and it has come very fast recently, not so much by diminished drinking, but by integration of processes and improved methods of producing alcoholic liquors by fewer men. If it came at once, the transfer of money now spent on liquor to clothes, food, houses, furniture and other things would soon absorb the displaced from drink manufacture. As a matter of economic fact, the liquor trade per million of capital invested gives employment to fewer men than any other trade, as the table given below proves.

A Government return issued in 1891 (C. 6535), when Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was President of the Board of Trade, shows how comparatively little the brewing trade pays in wages as compared with other trades. Here are the figures:—

Page in Blue Book.	Occupation.	Paid in Wages out of each £100 value produced.
17	Mining	55·0
24	Shipbuilding.	37·0
40	Docks and Harbours.	34·7
32	Railways.	30·0
10	Agriculture	29·0
33	Canals.	29·0
26	Cotton Manufacture.	29·2
41	Waterworks.	25·7
22	Iron and Steel Manufacture.	23·3
30	Textile Industries.	22·6
18	Gas Manufacture.	20·0
43	Brewing.	7·5

Also by

JOHN BURNS, M.P.

BRAINS BETTER THAN BETS OR BEER:

a Straight Tip to Workers. Sixtieth Thousand.

LABOUR AND FREE TRADE. Thirtieth Thousand.

BONDAGE FOR BLACK; SLAVERY FOR
YELLOW LABOUR. Tenth Thousand.

One Penny Each. Post free, Three Halfpence.

The Three Pamphlets forwarded post free for Fourpence.

KENT & MATTHEWS, Ltd.,
180 Wandsworth Road, London, S.W.

The
“Morning Leader.”

The Paper
Of PROGRESS,
Of FREEDOM,
Of LIBERALISM.

THE “**Morning Leader**” has stepped into a foremost place among the Liberal papers of the world. Bright, alert, progressive, brilliantly served with special news from all parts of the world, and with pictorial and literary features of the most original and striking quality, the “**Morning Leader**,” with its quarter of a million circulation, is the paper of the great mass of the thoughtful people of the country.

ONE HALFPENNY DAILY.

The foregoing clearly illustrates the supreme folly of buying intoxicants with the idea that their consumption helps trade, or puts a large proportion of money in the pockets of the wage-earners.

The heavens supply the raw material and the finished article goes invariably to the hell of a dissolute poverty.

The truth about liquor as a trade is, that it depends upon the cheapest raw material in manufacture, as the above figures show.

The Trade as an Employer.

The extent to which liquor does not employ the same proportion of men per million of money is illustrated by two concerns.

Where a railway employs 38,000 men who receive £3,250,000 in wages per annum, a well-known distillery employs 2,000 men whose wages amount to £100,000.

If the distillery employed the proportion of men per million of capital equal to that invested in railways, 7,142 men instead of 2,000 should be engaged, and £357,000 instead of £100,000 per annum as wages should have been circulated.

The amalgamation of liquor concerns have decreased brewers from 15,744 in 1882 to 5,898 in 1902; breweries, distilleries, ownership of public houses, and the veiled ownership of drinking clubs increases yearly the disproportion of men employed to money invested. The riches of the brewer, as disclosed in wills, gifts and establishments, prove the personal profit to the owners of this demoralising trade.

The wholesale trade is not conspicuous for its generosity to its workpeople, whilst the retail trade is, generally speaking, in the matter of long hours to its male and female workers, possibly the worst of all industries, and in wages per hour one of the lowest, whilst the unhealthiness of employment and temptation to disease make both brewing and public house work an industry that should be scheduled as a dangerous trade.

	Hours per week.
In the Metropolis the public houses are open ...	123½
In the Provincial Towns	108
In rural places	102

There are rarely two shifts of people, and it will be found that they average for their employes 80 to 90 hours per week. Saturday is their busiest day, Sunday their second, and holidays are to them exceptional.

In sober statistical fact, whether due to long hours or to nature of employment, it is to those who live on it almost as deadly to those employed as to those who die through supporting it.

A Dangerous Trade.

The deadliest and most dangerous of occupations.

In a supplement to the 55th Annual Report of the Registrar-General there is a special report of Dr. Tatham upon the death rates prevailing in 100 trades and occupations in England and Wales.

The liquor traffic is declared to be the "deadliest and most dangerous of occupations."

	Comparative Mortality Figures.
Inn Keeper (Industrial Districts)	2,030
Inn Keeper, Servant, etc. (Industrial Districts)	1,948
Inn Keeper, Servant, etc. (London)	1,838
Inn Keeper, Servant, etc.	1,659
Brewer	1,427
Seaman	1,352
All Males	1,000
Occupied Males	953
Coal Miner	925
Railway Engine-Driver, Guard	818
Grocer	664
Agricultural Labourer	632
Schoolmaster	604
Clergyman	533

Alcohol is no respecter of persons, it is alike injurious to public and publican.

The direct mortality that comes to all engaged in the manufacture, distribution, and sale of liquor is bad enough, but the invalidity on the way to death of those employed would be appalling if it could be gauged and tabulated, which it is difficult to do. But it is officially declared to be the "*deadliest and most dangerous of occupations.*"

The illness, discomfort, physical and other disabilities springing from those whose daily duty it is to be the votaries of or hand-maids of Bacchus is alone enough to evoke hostility to it as a calling. But the greatest evil it inflicts, if less virulent in form, but over a wider area than those who work at the trade, is over that portion of the working class who, whilst enjoying themselves at the shrine of Bacchus, are hourly and daily offering themselves up as a sacrifice to the moloch of drink.

The abstainers from drink between the ages of 25 and 60 generally expect to die forty per cent. slower than those who are non-abstainers. That, however, is not all. Life is not measured by time, nor happiness by mere youth. The years of the

abstainer are not only longer, but they are fuller, happier, and more efficient in every respect.

The abstainer lives longer, he has less illness, he is less dependent, he is more self-reliant, he has fewer vices, and his abstinence from crime is more remarkable than his neglect of drink. Only six per cent. of Scotch criminals are professed teetotallers, whilst there is a similar disproportion on the books of infirmaries, workhouses and private charities.

The Effects of Drink on Personal Sickness.

There is greater difficulty in determining the ratio of sickness due to drink than the mortality due to same cause. The latter is revealed only at death, and the predisposing cause in the shape of illness it is difficult to trace. But all are agreed that drink enervates physique, is responsible for much lost time, ill-health, and multifarious disorders, as officers of Friendly Societies and Trade Unions know.

To the extent that the abstainers mortality is lower, so will his sickness be less, even though the ratio of sickness is not precisely determinable by figures. It is patent, however, to all. Sir Andrew Clark, the doctor at the London Hospital for twenty years, gave it as his belief on the basis of the widest experience, great sympathy and deep knowledge, that seven out of every ten were there through the physical injury caused by drink. He said that "out of every hundred patients whom I have charge of at the London Hospital, seventy per cent. of them directly owe their ill-health to alcohol—to the abuse. I do not say these seventy per cent. were drunkards, but to the excessive use."

The deadly effect of alcohol on certain diseases is remarkable, as proved by Dr. Eccles, Sir Victor Horsley, Dr. Mott, and others. These authorities say that 75 per cent. of venereal patients can be attributed to alcohol, or that alcohol predisposes, where it does not originate, and accentuates this and all other forms of illness, malnutrition, or tuberculosis.

My workshop experience confirms this view, and as a public man whose advice is sought by many who are ill, injured, or dying, my intimate knowledge of the facts of every-day life support the view.

Of the abstainer it can be statistically proved, as was poetically expressed by Shakespeare in "As you like it" of the old man Adam—

Let me be your servant ;
 Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty;
 For in my youth I never did apply
 Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood,
 Nor did I with unbashful forehead woo
 The means of weakness and debility,
 Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
 Frosty but kindly."

Drink on Public Health.

Dr. C. K. Millard, Medical Officer of Health for Leicester, in 1902, sums up the whole question of alcohol and its relation to the public health in the following remarkable statement: "Speaking as a medical officer of health, I can say that if I were given the choice of the abolition on the one hand of the evil of drink, and on the other of all the other various preventables influencing and affecting public health on which medical officers are at present concentrating their efforts, I would choose unhesitatingly the abolition of drink as being greater by far than all the others combined."

I was informed by a London sanitary inspector this month that he had never yet served an overcrowding notice except on drinking tenants, and had never issued a notice to abate dirt or nuisance to a teetotaler. The lesson of that is plain. Drunkenness is next door to dirtiness—often in the same house.

Poverty and Drink.

The theory dogmatically asserted that poverty causes drink is rudely shaken by the fact that the expenditure per middle and upper class family who have the means is two and half times greater than the working class family, although the effect of such is less apparent to them through other causes.

But the strongest answer is the statistical fact that as wages rise general drunkenness follows, insanity increases, and criminal disorder due to drink keeps pace with all three. The converse generally holds good, for in rural districts where wages are low drunkenness is lower, and insanity due to drink, is scarcer. In support of these views and tables, the Prison Commissioners report (p. 16, Judicial Statistics, 1899):—"A year of great prosperity, 1899 was also a year of great drunkenness."

Yet drunkenness in 1899, I am pleased to say, per 100,000 was much lower than previous periods of prosperity, as 1890 and 1884; 1875, *our busiest, was most drunken in every respect.*

It may be urged in extenuation of these deplorable facts, that the determining cause was the previously low wages ; and it is the sudden rise from rural to urban wages that sweeps the appreciated wage earner from his simple, sober habits, to the excitable heavy drinker that he is able by his higher wage to be.

If this be accepted, it diminishes enormously the force of the theory that poverty causes drink. As in many cases the escape from poverty and the access to comfort is celebrated by a violent series of drunken orgies, that in many cases with certain sections of people as they are, makes a rise in wage often more a curse than a blessing.

Still, in 1901 the Prison Commissioners attributed the rise in prison population "to the greatly increased number of casual, "irregular workers who, owing to the comparative scarcity of "labourers, had more employment than usual and had accordingly more money to spend on drink."

Wherever one seeks for information dispassionately, one sees that drink does cause poverty to a greater extent, overwhelmingly so, than poverty causes drink.

As to its general effect upon the working classes Mr. Charles Booth's summary suffices.

"Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, "undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and "cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. "It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases as "sickness or old age, but if it were not for drink, sickness and "old age could be better met. Drink must, therefore, be "accounted the most prolific of all the causes ; and it is the least "necessary."

And it has been variously estimated by Mr. Booth, Mr. Rowntree, Mr. Whittaker and Mr. McDougall, that poverty is due to intemperance in varying degrees from 25 per cent. to 51 per cent. of cases and areas investigated. Between those two extremes people can choose for themselves. If indirect cost is added the result is appalling.

This view is endorsed by one whose trend of argument went to prove that it was poverty caused drink when he said :—

"Among the many evils with which society is afflicted, the "debauchery, misery, and vice engendered by the drinking habits "of the people stand out in bad pre-eminence. The drinking "habits of the masses form the strongest rampart of the "plutocracy, the barrier to the advance of the army of "democracy."

Industrial prosperity is always the measure of wages, generally the standard of drunkenness, the gauge of insanity, and too often

TABLE I.

COMPARISON OF THE VARIATIONS IN WAGES, EMPLOYMENT, CONSUMPTION OF BEER AND SPIRITS, DRUNKENNESS, CRIME, PAUPERISM, LUNACY, DEATH-RATE AND INFANTILE DEATH-RATE, DURING THE PERIOD, 1888-03.

YEAR.	WAGES. Variation from Standard year, 1900.	EMPLOYMENT. Percentage of Trade Unionists in full work.	CONSUMPTION OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.		DRUNKEN- NESS PER 1,000 POPULATION.	CRIME PER 1,000 POPULATION.	LUNACY PER 10,000 POPULATION.	PAUPERISM PER 1,000 POPULATION.	DEATH-RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION.	INFANTILE DEATH- RATE PER 1,000 BIRTHS.
			Beer. Gals. per head.	Spirits. Gals. per head.						
1888	84.72	95.1	27.21	0.93	5.91	2.08	29.65	28.3	18.1	136
1889	87.51	97.9	28.88	0.96	6.13	2.02	29.92	27.3	18.2	144
1890	90.26	97.9	30.00	1.02	6.60	1.91	29.85	26.4	19.5	151
1891	91.54	96.5	30.16	1.04	6.44	1.86	29.88	25.6	19.0	149
1892	90.06	93.7	29.75	1.03	5.91	1.98	30.21	25.8	19.0	148
1893	90.13	92.5	29.55	.98	5.68	1.93	30.63	26.5	19.2	159
1894	89.49	93.1	29.41	.97	5.94	1.87	30.95	26.5	16.6	137
1895	89.11	94.2	29.58	1.00	5.56	1.67	31.31	26.8	18.7	161
1896	89.92	96.6	30.79	1.01	6.08	1.64	31.89	26.5	17.1	148
1897	90.80	96.5	31.29	1.02	6.20	1.63	32.35	26.2	17.4	156
1898	93.20	97.0	31.76	1.03	6.42	1.67	32.96	26.5	17.5	160
1899	95.37	97.6	32.53	1.09	6.72	1.58	33.06	25.0	18.2	163
1900	100.00	97.1	31.56	1.12	6.33	1.66	33.09	24.3	18.2	154
1901	99.07	96.2	30.77	1.09	6.45	1.70	33.55	24.6	16.9	151
1902	97.78	95.6	30.24	1.05	6.36	1.73	34.14	24.9	16.2	133
1903	97.20	94.9	29.69	0.99	—	—	34.71	25.1	15.4	—

the stimulus of crime ; this is strikingly confirmed by that patient, devoted and capable investigator, Mr. W. D. Morrison :—

“ A glance at the criminal returns for a series of years will at once show that crime is highest in summer and autumn—a time when occupation of all kinds and especially for the poorest members of the community is most easily obtained—and lowest in winter and spring, when economic conditions are adverse.”

All these facts, instead of pointing to poverty as the main cause of crime, point the other way. It is a curious sign of the times that this statement should meet with so much incredulity. It has been reserved for this generation to propagate the absurdity that the want of money is the root of all evil. All the wisest teachers of mankind have hitherto been disposed to think differently, and criminal statistics are far from demonstrating that they are wrong.

A mere increase of material prosperity generates as many evils as it destroys. It may diminish offences against property, but it augments offences against the person and multiplies drunkenness to an alarming extent. Where it is an undoubted fact that material wretchedness has a debasing effect both morally and physically, it is also equally true that the same results are sometimes found to flow from an increase of economic well-being.

An interesting proof of this is to be found in the recent investigations of M. Chopinet, a French military surgeon, respecting the status, etc., of the population in the Central Pyrenees. M. Chopinet, after a careful examination of the conscript registers from 1873 to 1888, arrives at the following conclusions

WAGES (col. 1).—Fluctuations in the average standard rates of wages as compared with the standard year 1900, which is taken at 100. The rates include building trades, coal mining, engineering, textile and agriculture in various districts throughout the United Kingdom.—Statistical Charts for St. Louis Exhibition (Cd. 2,145), Table 4.

EMPLOYMENT (col. 2).—Percentage proportion of members of Trade Unions making returns who were employed at the end of each month, averaged for the whole year.—United Kingdom.—Statistical Charts for St. Louis Exhibition (Cd. 2,145), converse of Table 3.

CONSUMPTION OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (cols. 3 and 4).—Quantity of British Beer and of British, Foreign and Colonial Spirits retained for home consumption per head of population of the United Kingdom.—Statistical Abstract, 1904, Cd. 2,192.

DRUNKENNESS (col. 5).—Number of persons tried for drunkenness in England and Wales per 1,000 population.—Calculated from “Criminal Statistics,” Cd. 2,010.

CRIME (col. 6).—Number of persons tried for indictable offences in England and Wales per 1,000 population.—Calculated from “Criminal Statistics,” Cd. 2,010.

LUNACY (col. 7).—Number of lunatics (private, pauper and criminal) in England and Wales per 1,000 population on 31st December.—Lunacy Commissioners' Reports, 311 of 1895, and 232 of 1904.

PAUPERISM (col. 8).—Number of paupers of all classes relieved in England and Wales per 1,000 population. Average for 1st July and 1st January of succeeding year.—“Local Government Board Report” 1902-3, and “Pauperism B.” Return, 109 of 1903, 84 of 1904.

DEATH RATE (col. 9).—Number of deaths in England and Wales per 1,000 population.—Registrar-General's Report (Cd. 2,003) and Summary for 1903.

INFANTILE DEATH RATE (col. 10).—Number of deaths of children under one year of age, in England and Wales per 1,000 births.—Registrar-General's Report, Cd. 2,003).

as to what determines the physical condition of the population. After discussing the commercial influence and the evil effects of poverty and bad hygienic arrangements for the people, he points out that moral corruption arising from material prosperity is also a powerful factor in producing physical degeneracy. He singles out one—Canton Luchon—as being the victims of its own prosperity. In this Canton he says that the old simplicity of life has departed in consequence of its prodigious prosperity.

Vices formerly unknown have penetrated into the country, the frequenting of public houses and the habit of keeping late hours have taken the place of the open-air sports which used to be the favoured method of enjoyment. Illegitimate births, formerly very rare, have multiplied; syphilis even has spread among the young. Food of a less substantial character has superseded the diet of former times, and, in short, alcoholism, precocious debauchery and syphilis have come like so many plagues to arrest the development of the youth and seriously debilitate the population.

There again, not lack of means, the niggardliness of nature, nor the inhumanity of man, but the danger that a fool is to himself when his purse is full, his tastes disordered, and he has, as Ibsen says “vine leaves in his hair.”

But the really crushing answer to those who dogmatise about poverty creating drink comes from the county of Glamorgan, in Wales, and it is clearly put by Dr. R. S. Stewart, of the Glamorgan County Asylum. “It is to be observed that 1879 “when wages were at the lowest point, Glamorgan had a lunacy “rate, judged by the ratio of its admissions to its asylum to “population, approximately one half of that prevailing in the “country generally.” Since 1879 this ratio has risen till Glamorgan and England are nearly identical.

There are two sliding scales, that of wages and that of lunacy going hand in hand. Whenever wages rise there is a concomitant increase of insanity, and vice versa, but the fall is never commensurate with the fall in wages, and hence the steady upward movement in insanity which is observable. Generally speaking, a falling wage rate, greater expenditure of energy, and lessened leisure are associated with a decrease of crime and drunkenness, and with diminished lunacy.

A rising wage rate, diminished labour, and increase of leisure, are associated with increase of drunkenness, crime and lunacy.

What was the effect of the stress which was the accompanist of the prolonged labour dispute in the South Wales coalfield in 1898? A very marked drop in drunkenness and lunacy.

YEAR	WAGES.	OUTPUT.		INSANITY.		CRIME.			
	Percentage above standard of 1879 in South Wales coalfield.	In tons per year per man over and under ground.		Proportion of admissions into asylums, &c., per 100,000 of population.		Proportion of indictable offences known to the police per 100,000 population.		Proportion of persons tried for the offence of drunkenness per 100,000 population.	
		United Kingdom.	South Wales.	Engl. and Wales.	Glamorgan.	England and Wales.	Glamorgan.	England and Wales.	Glamorgan.
1874	—	—	224	—	—	—	—	—	—
1875	22'50	—	—	51'7	35'6	—	—	848	970
1876	14'00	—	—	52'7	32'1	—	—	843	902
1877	14'00	—	—	52'5	29'6	—	—	815	880
1878	10'00	—	—	53'3	31'8	—	—	777	739
1879	0'00	—	267	51'6	25'6	—	—	703	675
1880	4'58	—	—	51'5	26'0	—	—	672	784
1881	6'66	—	—	51'8	34'3	—	—	669	823
1882	12'91	—	—	51'7	36'3	—	—	718	876
1883	15'41	—	—	54'3	31'5	—	—	720	884
1884	17'50	—	—	53'1	30'0	—	—	730	877
1885	13'75	—	—	49'0	27'4	—	—	673	901
1886	7'50	—	—	49'3	29'6	—	—	600	772
1887	2'91	—	299	51'4	29'9	—	—	584	808
1888	3'33	—	—	52'5	34'5	—	—	591	808
1889	17'08	—	—	52'9	32'1	—	—	612	842
1890	43'64	—	—	56'3	36'2	—	—	659	919
1891	55'83	—	257	57'4	43'2	—	—	644	1037
1892	36'14	—	—	58'3	38'5	—	—	591	975
1893	15'00	—	—	60'0	38'2	290	317	567	1040
1894	25'10	277	270	58'8	37'2	285	331	594	1287
1895	16'77	283	264	60'9	44'1	267	350	556	1085
1896	11'04	294	273	60'7	42'8	255	337	608	1265
1897	10'94	303	282	60'7	50'4	253	337	620	1258
1898	15'55	297	209	61'5	45'5	261	307	642	936
1899	23'95	314	302	60'8	52'1	238	267	672	1245
1900	53'23	300	268	61'8	52'3	241	272	633	1237
1901	73'33	281	260	64'0	63'6	248	280	645	1273
1902	53'12	285	268	69'3	59'6	252	305	636	1276

When an average wage rate is ten per cent. above the standard of 1879, Glamorgan has a drunkenness rate of 835 per 100,000, and a lunacy rate of 311 per 100,000. When the wage rate is thirty-two per cent. above the standard, drunkenness is 1,119, and the lunacy rate 45.

In a report of the Glamorgan County Asylum we observe that of 361 males and 227 females, 141 were cases of alcoholic intemperance; and the Medical Superintendent (H. J. Pringle) remarks that "It is disheartening and monotonous to preach year after year about the curse of intemperance and to see so little result. That in the past year 106 men and 35 women

“ should have poisoned themselves with alcoholics, many of them
 “ hopelessly, is, I think, a sad comment upon our Liquor Laws,
 “ and the far too great facilities and temptations *thrust* upon
 “ the inhabitants of our crowded towns and cities.”

There are thousands of labourers suddenly translated from low wages to much higher, who, without restraint and prudence, are almost ruined in the transfer from Spartan poverty to undisciplined enjoyment and the violent extremes of casual labour and irregular wages. 10s. in Ireland to 30s., 40s. coal heaving in a seaport town, to whom the sudden rise means surfeit, not of clothes, nor lodging, nor food, nor furniture, nor pleasure—but drink. Their wants are few, their tastes are simple, and therefore, their drinks are numerous.

The result is that a lot of them succumb when in the liquor zone of higher wages through lack of self-respect—not through poverty and lack of means. Many escape this temptation and use their wages wisely; if all did it would be better for them and everybody.

An interesting revelation of drink not being caused by lack of means and poverty is shown by an analysis of the Police statistics of a Lancashire city for 1903 of drunkenness, disorder, and breaches of the peace arising from drinking, due to the possession of means, and misused spending power.

Drunkenness—Arrests.

Saturday	...	...	...	...	2,317
Monday	...	...	...	...	1,303
Tuesday	...	...	...	...	870
Wednesday	...	...	...	...	851
Thursday	...	...	...	...	738
Friday	...	...	...	...	766
Sunday	...	...	...	...	495
Total					7,340

There, clear as can be, is traced—

1st.—Possession of means.

2nd.—As means decline drunkenness diminishes.

Thursday, the poorest day, the most sober.

Sunday, the least accessibility to liquor, the soberest day.

There is more to follow in the further facts, which go to prove that possession of means not only causes drunkenness, but that drunkenness results in and is alone responsible for producing the resultant crime, disorder and assaults.

VARIATIONS IN THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE 1888-1903.

1888 '89 '90 '91 '92 '93 '94 '95 '96 '97 '98 '99 '00 '01 '02 '03

WAGES

EMPLOYMENT

CONSUMPTION OF
BEER —
SPIRITS

DRUNKENNESS

CRIME

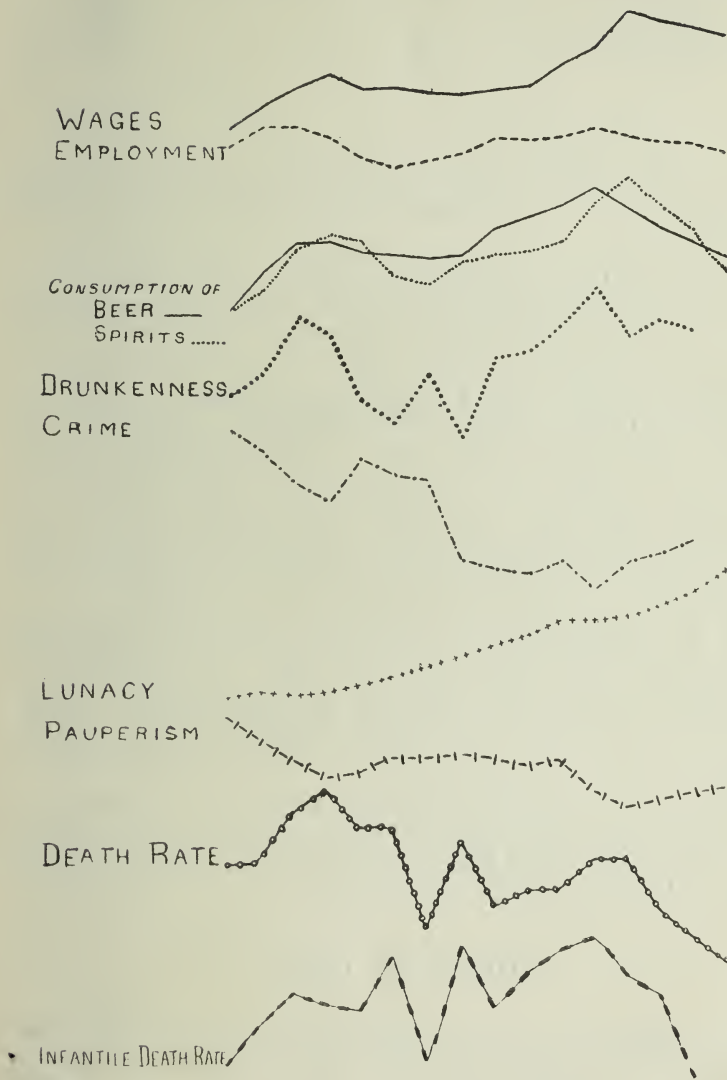
LUNACY

PAUPERISM

DEATH RATE

INFANTILE DEATH RATE

1888 '89 '90 '91 '92 '93 '94 '95 '96 '97 '98 '99 '00 '01 '02 '03



Of 2,694 drunk and disorderly apprehensions in the same place in 1903, 1,905 of 2,694 were confined to four classes of unskilled labour, viz. :—

Labourers	...	...	...	...	1,309
Sailors	...	...	...	...	285
Firemen	...	...	...	...	201
Carters	...	...	...	...	110
					<hr/>
					1,905
					<hr/>

Of 1,790 cases of drunk and incapable, 1,135 were in the same classes of men, thus : Labourers, 715; Sailors, 163; Firemen, 92; Carters, 165.

And, as if this was not bad enough, out of a total of 444 assaults on police, 350 or seven-ninths of total in the whole city were from the same class. Labourers, 220; firemen, 60; sailors, 46; carters, 24. 350 of 444.

When Jeshurun waxes fat he kicks vigorously the policeman. And to end this sad chapter of the evil effects of drink its asylum report records that of 322 "cases" of lunacy admitted in 1903, in 176 of the 322 "cases" intemperance in drink was the predisposing, disposing or exciting cause, and of these 176, 116 came from the same group of unskilled labour. Their mortality from alcoholism is also very heavy as compared with other trades. "'Tis true, 'tis pity; pity 'tis, 'tis true."

All this confirms the view that certain classes of workmen do drink disproportionately to their earnings, that they too often waste their wages, that they deprive their families of proper sustenance because of their dissolute expenditure, and as a result, assaults, disorder and crime flow from the misuse of hard-earned money.

Surely one can say that the people perish from lack of knowledge, absence of self-respect, lowness of aim, the fewness of their wants, the sordid level of their appetites, and not so much by poverty and the lack of means.

Drink as Food.

It is suggested as an excuse for drinking that liquor is a food where it is not a stimulant. The short answer to this is, that all feats of endurance, whether by masses of men on the march, in expeditions, or in naval, military, and industrial efforts are best performed when abstinence from alcoholic liquors prevail.

All the great feats of athletic endurance, skill, and proficiency, are only possible in their highest strength, agility, and perfection, when temperance in all things is the rule.

But the scientific witnesses against liquor as a food, drink or stimulant are rapidly increasing. The chief, as he is the most painstaking, Dr. T. Oliver, to whom Labour owes a tribute of thanks and everlasting gratitude, says with all the weight of his great authority:—

It is still a debateable point as to whether alcohol is a food. Some medical men affirm that it has a certain value in this respect, that alcohol in its decomposition in the human body is oxidised, and energy thereby liberated.

Admitting that one gramme of alcohol either outside or inside the body is capable of yielding seven calories more than one gramme of proteid, can alcohol be so utilised in the system as to spare the other elements of the food or to prevent the tissues of the body from being burned? If it saves fat from combustion it would be a good food, and if proteid from the same fate it would be a still higher kind of food. Animals, when given alcohol, resemble men who take stimulants with their food in so far as they lay on fat.

To healthy vigorous men there is no need to give alcohol in order to make it take the place of food, for in health the tendency is to gain weight or maintain it, certainly not to lose it. Alcohol first stimulates and then depresses the nemo-muscular system. Under its use muscular work may be at first temporarily increased, but it is soon decreased, and is *not* reliable.

Typewriters, *e.g.*, make fewer errors when they are not taking alcohol. Alcohol benumbs the sense of fatigue and leads to an extravagant expenditure of energy.

When taken in excess and over a lengthened period, it sets up changes in the internal organs that lead to an untimely death.

The ravages caused by alcohol far outweigh any advantages that can be claimed for it in the way of food; besides, even were it the best of food it would be too expensive. Where money is spent by the working classes freely upon alcohol they cannot be properly housed and fed. It is impossible to estimate the amount of ill-health and family distress created by the immoderate use of alcohol.

Digestive derangements, cirrhosis of the liver, cardiac, degenerating and diseased arteries, to say nothing of the baneful effects upon the nervous system, leading to idleness and permanent unfitness for work, are some of the evils attendant upon the misuse of stimulants.

I should not be far wrong if I said that the bulk of the diseases for which working men are admitted into our infirmaries are the result of alcoholic intemperance, exposure to cold, strain at work, and syphilis. Alcohol so reduces the vital resistance of the individual that he is unable to bear strain at work, and by making him careless of exposure to cold, it lays him open to all forms of acute pulmonary affection, but especially to tubercle.

It is also a frequent cause of accidents in factories, shipyards, and dockyards. Knowledge of the previous habits of workmen and of the way in which they spend their evenings, are circumstances that ought to have fair consideration extended to them in courts of justice when, after accidents, claims are lodged for compensation for injury. Only a few weeks ago a French court dismissed a claim for compensation for injury received at work, the evidence having shown that the workman at the time of the injury was under the influence of drink.

It is believed that several of the fatal accidents in our dockyards and on board ship, also some of the wrecks that have occurred shortly after ships had put to sea, have been due to men being in a state of semi-intoxication and unfit for work.

Over and above the immediate and remote effects of alcohol upon the individual, and the impoverishment of the home and family caused by it, we cannot overlook its possible effects upon the progeny from a hereditary point of view.

And is there not, too, another side to this picture, namely, the encouragement given to the wives of working men to drink through the example set them by their husbands. Whatever doubts there may be in regard to the physical degeneration of the race, there is none as to the diminishing birth rate in this country; and while there are many causes leading to this, the increasing amount of alcohol drunk by women and the more selfish lives they lead, are responsible for many sterile marriages.

Dr. Lonnet (*Conference sur l'Alcoholism*, p. 152) tells us that in Brittany 107 women who died before the age of 29 from the consequence of alcoholism, eight had not had any children, of the other 99 there were born only six children, and these were delicate or deformed. These same women before becoming addicted to alcohol, had had twenty-eight children, all of whom were healthy and vigorous.

Thus upon the wives of the working classes even more than upon their husbands, the baneful effects of alcohol are only too apparent.

Working men ought not to take alcoholic drinks during working hours. All such commodities as beer and stout carried into the factories at the dinner hour should be forbidden. I

have known young children who were in the habit of carrying beer to their father in the factories, take regularly every day a sip of the beer they were carrying, and as a consequence develop cirrhosis of the liver.

After all, the stimulating effects of alcohol doesn't last long ; they are soon followed by depression. Can any workman who is intemperate extract from his blood saturated with alcohol the necessary energy for healthy, muscular activity? Dr. Grilmett in his experiments upon work and alcohol found that the amount of work accomplished by himself upon the ergograph after taking alcohol was less both on the same day, and that succeeding it, than when no alcohol was taken. Alcohol leaves behind in too many persons a feeling of lassitude which tempts to the fresh taking of more alcohol.

Besides, even though during the period of temporary stimulation a greater amount of work may be done, there comes mentally a period of prostration and lessened production. An American employer of labour divided his workmen, according to agreement, into two sets. The men were on piecework, were all supplied with the same food, but one set was given wine and beer in addition. During the first four days the set who took alcohol did a little more work than their teetotal comrades. On the fifth day things equalised themselves, and from the sixth to the twentieth day the set not taking alcohol did the most work.

It is a well known fact that when men are training for sports, cycling, running, etc., all alcohol is suppressed. Most guides to the Alps have renounced the use of alcohol. They have found by experience that far from giving them vigour and the necessary resistance, alcohol, on the contrary, diminishes their endurance to fatigue and limits their efforts. Alcoholic excess drains the resources of a working man, while in the advent of such a serious illness as pneumonia, the alcoholic habit, if pronounced, renders it almost impossible for him to recover, and in the event of an accident requiring a surgical operation, it increases enormously the immediate risk and the consequences of the operation.

To the above, on the great authority of Dr. J. Oliver, is added the practical experience of a large employer of labour.

Sir T. Brassey remarks:—"The best navvies, however, are "teetotallers. That where 300 of them had to widen a gauge "and had to effect the change quickly—working day and night—"it was found that oatmeal gruel was the best for keeping up "their energies. In railway making there is no workman in the "world equal to the English navvy. The English navvy is a "large meat eater."

Drink as a Stimulant.

The general belief amongst many sections of workmen that liquor helps labour, stimulates energy ; in a word, is a source of strength where it is not a solace, is one of the greatest fallacies with which the poor and the ignorant delude themselves.

The answer is given by Edwin Chadwick, the great hygienic and sanitary reformer, and is supported by modern experts and past experience.

“ It was very generally assumed then as now that hard physical work was accomplished more easily under the influence or it might be said under the aid of fermented beverages. Strong beer over-excited men, and as the excitement was for a short period, a repetition of the stimulus was requisite. One set of labourers informed witness that they had been offered porter in the morning, but they declined, and assigned as a reason—reason, by the way, as forcible as it was scientifically true—that *it made them work their hearts out.*”

I have heard workmen console themselves for a bad habit by saying that beer was good, as generally the best workmen were heavy drinkers. This view is shared and expressed by others, notably Professor Henry Drummond :—“ You will have noticed that it is not the dull men who go to pieces in a small town but often the best men, the men who have the largest natures to fill and who therefore find the town too monotonous for them. *It is the same in the workshop. It is the best workmen who go farthest wrong.*”

If this be true, and it too generally prevails, it is due not to their drinking habits, because nothing sterilises the skill of ability more than drinking.

Good workmen often drink because their exceptional skill provides them with the means. It is the abuse of their natural strength and energy that enables them to drink, not their drinking that makes them energetic.

Their special aptitude gives them an independence of employer, a command of work that the normal man cannot command through his average capacity. This favourable condition he too often abuses by drinking to the creation of an illusion, but finally to his own undoing. But the remedy for this is not to pander to the foolish disposition, the economic independence or the mental volatility of the wayward genius. He must be told to “ hitch his chariot to a star,” and in proportion to his superior qualities divert them to nobler and better use. And in so far as he has greater industrial skill or mental sharpness so is he entitled to use those faculties, if not for his own advancement, for the benefit of his fellow workers in example and practice, certainly not as too often happens for his own degradation.

Drink and Industrial Accidents.

It is very difficult to get many or reliable figures directly connecting drink with accidents. But drink, as a factor in inflicting injuries upon people is an undoubted source of accident, pain, and often death.

Professor Victor Horsley, however, vouches for the serious statement that "In the casualty wards of the London General Hospital regularly on Saturday nights, 90 per cent. of the injuries admitted are directly due to drink, and on the last Boxing Day every admission was due to drink."

I am pleased to say that I was informed by a house surgeon in a large London hospital that shortly after the passing of a recent Act, the Friday and Saturday casualties had dropped 30 to 50 per cent. From other London hospitals I am informed that from 5 to 20 per cent. of accidents are due to alcohol. Also that accidents on Monday at work are far more numerous than any other day, and that a good number who fall down ship holds, slip or fall, do so when wholly or partly drunk, and their injuries arise from drink.

In 1903 there were 400,000 accident, casualty and emergency cases in London hospitals, applying to this number the modest percentage of 5 due to drink means 20,000 accidents traceable to drink.

In the returns taken out in 1877 from one of the northern mining hospitals, the largest percentage of accidents occurred upon the Monday and Tuesday after the pay. This was due to the men, either drinking or from having drunk on the Saturday or Sunday and who were therefore in a physically nervous condition and less fit for work than they were on other days. This is confirmed by a report of the German Government on the experience of ten years' miners' accidents. This suggests that accidents are most frequent on the day after Monday.

In Germany, where better information on this subject of Labour and Drink is available, there were, in 1897, 1,066 mining accidents to working miners, for which 235,483 marks were paid for compensation during period of invalidity.

A Belgium publicist in October, 1904, describing the general results of alcoholism in that country, states that 43 per cent. of the accidents in mines and factories are due to drink.

Of six people killed on a small railway in Lancashire, nine miles long, five out of the six were drunk. A Board of Trade Inspector reporting upon an accident where one train cut into another, stated: "There is no explanation of this except that the man was drunk."

Recently as May, 1904, one reads in a Manchester paper the following :—

“ Drunk while driving an express.—At Chorley on Friday, a driver on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway was fined £10 and costs for being drunk while driving an express train from Manchester to Blackpool. The superintendent of the Carriage Department at Manchester travelled in the train, and noticing it was working erratically, got out at Chorley and found prisoner was drunk. He sent for another driver, but the prisoner refused to leave the engine, threatening he would make it so that nobody else could work it. The Bench said the offence was most serious, the train being a very important one.”

It is only just to say this is very rare, as railway men as a class are very sober men indeed, as they ought to be.

In Liverpool and North Wales mining reports one reads of a stoker asleep on duty and intoxicated ; and in the same report of a boiler inspector being intoxicated at the mine.

There are also instances of enginemen being drunk at their work, and of others interfering with the banksman, impeding thereby the working of the mine.

The extent to which drink in others is responsible for injury to people in the course of their duty and work is proved by the fact that in London in 1902, out of 16,000 policemen, there were 2,970 injured on duty ; of these 1,655 were assaulted by drunken prisoners, 68 by dogs, 40 regulating traffic, 20 at fires, 8 only dispersing disorderly crowds. This proves that a drunken man is worse than a runaway horse, a mad dog, an excited crowd, or a raging fire. The general view is that a drunken woman, if less violent, is a greater nuisance.

We have thus proved that drink, as an active factor in causing accidents, casualties, and injuries, not only damages those who drink, but innocent people as well.

But the indirect results of accidents are very serious. They mean temporary absence from work, long periods of disability, and often permanent incapacity, with untold misery and injustice not only to those who suffer by them, but to their dependents. No small amount of individual loss and social wastage can be attributed to this active mischief that drink displays to the working classes of all grades.

The ravages of drink are not confined to any particular country, and it is a mistake to assume that America is free from this evil. A perusal of an American Government Report of 1894 reveals the fact that as regards pauperism 75 out of every 100 were addicted to drink. Nearly one-half of the paupers had one or both parents intemperate ; 66 out of all convictions for crime were

for drunkenness. In 82 per cent. the offender was under the influence of drink when offence was committed. 94 per cent. of persons convicted of crime were addicted to the use of drink. In 69 per cent. of 1,800 cases, one or both parents of the lunatics were intemperate; and 25 per cent. of the lunatics were insane because of intemperance. This Transatlantic experience is practically that of the Mother country. No wonder then that the best guides and friends of American Labour at different times have spoken in the same language as the three Americans whose words follow:—

American Labour Leaders on the Drink Evil.

“If I could I would inaugurate a strike that would drive the liquor traffic from the face of the earth.”—P. M. Arthur, chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in a speech at Cleveland, Ohio, March 28th, 1886.

“The liquor traffic is responsible for nine-tenths of the misery among the working classes, and the abolition of that traffic would be the greatest blessing which could come to them.”—T. V. Powderley, ex-General Master Workman of the Knights of Labour.

“I have looked into a thousand homes of the working people of Europe; I do not know how many in this country. I have tried to find the best and the worst; and while, as I say, I am aware that the worst exists, and as bad as under any system or as bad as in any age, I have never had to look beyond the inmates to find the cause; and in every case, so far as my observation goes, drunkenness was at the bottom of the misery, and not the industrial system or the industrial conditions surrounding the men and their families.”—United States Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, in an address on “The Relation of the Modern System of Industry to Intellectual Development” (1895).

Alcoholic Mortality.

In the year under notice, 1902, says the Registrar-General, there were referred to alcoholism or to delirium tremens, 2,784 deaths, equal to a rate of 105 per million among males, and 65 per million among females, both rates being in excess of decimal average.

- Cirrhosis of the liver, the relation of which to alcoholic intemperance is well known, has not shared in the general fall of mortality, but increased in fatality among males by 40 per cent. and among females as much as 55 per cent. since 1873-7.

Beyond the known, certified and direct cause of alcoholic mortality, the indirect annual wastage of human life in the United Kingdom has often been asserted as being 60,000 lives per annum, an estimate which I endorse.

Its influence on child life, maternity, and the future of the race, is tragically serious, and is, in spite of the well known love of the poor for their children, productive of much harm, as is shown by Dr. C. Templeman, M.D., D.Sc., July 26th, 1904 :—

“ There can no doubt, too, that drunkenness on the part of parents is a very important factor in the production of our infant mortality. Apart from the effects of this on the child *in utero*, there is another aspect to which I could allude, viz. : deaths from overlaying. These cases occur, as a rule, in one and two-roomed homes, and in a large majority of cases in families in which the parents are of dissipated and dissolute habits and living amidst squalor and filth. Of 461 cases which have come under my own observation as Surgeon of Police during the past twenty years, no fewer than 219 or 47 per cent. occurred between Saturday night and Sunday morning, a fact which speaks for itself.”

Drink and Unemployment.

Drink is fruitful in many cases as the chief cause of dismissal for individual workers. Intemperance in the General Post Office (1903) was responsible for 21 per cent. of the whole number of dismissals, and 67 per cent. of the losses of good conduct stripes. A similar proportion could fairly be applied to police, municipal, military, naval and every other branch of public services and private employment.

The effect of drink on pensioners and reserve men is illustrated by the evidence of Mr. Gibb, Relieving Officer, St. George's, Hanover Square, in April, 1903, who said :—

“ The Guardians were making every effort to put an end to the system of pensioners living on the rates, and concealing the fact that they had an allowance. There were literally hundreds of these men who went out of the house at pension times and had what they termed a ‘burst up’ with their money, in some instances as much as £3 being spent by one man in two days, who returned to workhouse after this expenditure, very drunk.”

Everyone will admit that this by no means exceptional case damaged the individual, withdrew from productive trade so much money, and prevented the sufferer from securing remunerative

work for himself without burdening his fellows for his idle maintenance.

Certainly the thriftless habits of certain sections of working class drinkers deprive them of the means when slack trade comes which the more abstinent can rely upon to tide them over the intervals of intermittent employment. As a contribution to the fluctuating conditions of labour the chief cause of unemployment is drink; by its violent dislocation of steady expenditure on useful things continuously used, it does great harm.

"A hunger and a burst" often produces indigence in the victim, but accompanied by surfeit in drink it is worse for the production of casual conditions of existence for the whole community.

Temperance steadies the market. Drinking just the reverse.

Liquor, Labour and Lunacy.

The drinking habits of large sections of workmen and their dissipation of hard-earned money, apart from the drunkenness, disorder, and misery it creates temporarily, imposes a permanent disability in a dreadful form by the way that drink contributes to lunacy.

In the general community, of which the working classes are the main elements, this dread disease is reported generally as increasing. Whether it be relatively or not is a matter for discussion, but absolutely its increase is beyond doubt. And of that increase too much is amongst the manual working classes.

Dr. Stewart remarks :—

"There are two sliding scales, that of wages and that of lunacy, going hand in hand.

"Generally speaking, a falling wage rate, greater expenditure of energy, and lessened leisure are associated with a decrease of crime and drunkenness, and with diminished lunacy.

"What was the effect of the stress which was the accompaniment of the prolonged labour dispute in the South Wales coal-field in 1898?

"A very marked drop in the prevalence of drunkenness and lunacy, in striking contrast with the continued increases prevalent in the country in general."

Lunacy in the United Kingdom.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Years.	No. of Insane.	Ratio per 10,000 of Population.	Ratio per 100,000 of Population.
1852	21,158	11.6	110
1859	36,752	15.9	159
1862	41,129	20.2	200
1872	58,640	25.4	250
1882	75,072	29.0	290
1892	87,848	29.8	290
1902	110,713	33.5	330
1903	113,964	34.1	340
1904	117,199	34.7	340

Proportion (per cent.) of patients admitted in whose cases "intemperance in drink" was assigned as a cause of insanity to the total number of admissions into County and Borough Asylums, Registered Hospitals, Naval and Military Hospitals, State Asylums and Licensed Houses in England and Wales :—

Year.		Males.	Females.
1876 (A)	...	22.7	7.8
1879	...	21.1	7.6
1888-92 (B)	...	20.5	8.1
1898-1902 (B)	...	22.8	9.5

(A)—The first year for which information can be supplied.

(B)—Average of the five years.

The 22.7 for 1876 is not an accident, it registers the results of the Boom years of 1873-4-5.

Lunacy in Ireland.

PROPORTION OF INSANE TO GENERAL POPULATION.

The following table shows the proportion of the insane, under care, per 100,000 of the population, estimated to the middle of each year from 1880 to 1903 :—

YEARS.	Estimated Population.	Number of Lunatics under care.	Proportion per 100,000 of Estimated Population.
1880	5,202,648	12,982	250
1881	5,145,770	13,326	259
1882	5,101,018	13,704	269
1883	5,023,811	13,981	278
1884	4,974,561	14,178	285
1885	4,938,588	14,307	290
1886	4,905,895	14,590	297
1887	4,857,119	15,147	312
1888	4,801,312	15,551	324
1889	4,757,385	16,026	337
1890	4,717,959	16,251	344
1891	4,680,376	16,688	357
1892	4,633,808	17,124	370
1893	4,607,462	17,276	375
1894	4,589,260	17,655	385
1895	4,559,936	18,357	403
1896	4,542,061	18,966	418
1897	4,529,917	19,590	432
1898	4,518,478	20,304	449
1899	4,502,401	20,863	463
1900	4,468,501	21,169	474
1901	4,445,630	21,630	487
1902	4,432,274	22,138	499
1903	4,413,655	22,794	516

From this table it will be seen that the number of the insane under care has increased from 250 per 100,000 of the population in 1880 to 516 per 100,000 in 1903.

If, to the number of the insane under care on the 31st December last, be added the number of lunatics and idiots at large, according to the last census, the total (26,662) represents 604 per 100,000 of the population.

The Census Commissioners proceed to state:—

“From the foregoing it will be observed that the number of lunatics returned in 1901 was nearly quadruple the number in 1851.”

Making every allowance for the economic causes and political reasons that are responsible for draining Ireland of its strongest, youngest, and healthiest people, and leaving behind the old, the very young or the infirm, giving every consideration for the drain

of Ireland by emigration, there is this melancholy fact to record, that in 1841 Ireland had 14,162 public houses, with a population of 8,175,124. Yet in 1903, with 4,413,655 people, Ireland was cursed with 16,740 public houses, and 1,792 grocers' and other licences, or a total of 18,532 liquor shops, with half its previous population. With 4,000,000 fewer people it has added 4,000 more dram shops.

"From 1838 to 1844," according to the Royal Commission on Licensing Liquor Laws, "public houses in Ireland were reduced from 21,326 to 13,514. There is no legislation in this period which can account for this tremendous decrease. There can be little doubt that it is due entirely to the extraordinary effect produced by the efforts of the Apostle of Temperance, Father Matthew. The years 1839 to 1845 were the years of his great success. During that period the consumption of spirits diminished to an almost incredible extent, and in parts of Ireland crime became almost unknown."

And yet there are people who contend that there is no connection between the number of drink shops and drinking.

What Ireland needs is a Father Matthew in every town, village, and country side, to prevent economic damage being supplemented by the social waste of liquor, the too obvious political danger of drink, and the diversion into disorder and petty crime of the kindest, as instinctively they are the least criminal and most neighbourly of all the ancient peoples. A gloomy austerity, foreign to Irish nature, has been imposed upon this buoyant race by the repression of their ancient games, old time customs, folk songs, dances, music and communal pleasures. Through this discouragement of the instinctive artistic qualities of an imaginative people in the interests of a mechanical morality, the minor lusts of the flesh have been diminished, but substitutes for them have been created in the greater evils of drink, and the squalid alternative of the public house or the mild excitement of the shebeen. Rural or economic poverty is not the chief cause by any means.

In six cities, with one-fourth the population of the whole country, thirty-two per cent. of the total crime was committed there; and nearly one-third of the total offences arising from drink and drunkenness throughout all Ireland were in the same limited area.

Is it to be wondered at, when in four of these six cities the proportion of licensed premises to other houses was—

Waterford	...	1 to 15 houses	—	1 to 78 people.
Limerick	...	1 ,, 17 ,,	—	1 ,, 89 ,,
Cork	...	1 ,, 17 ,,	—	1 ,, 93 ,,
Belfast	...	1 ,, 33 ,,	—	1 ,, 165 ,,

Compare this say with Battersea, which contains, not like Waterford, 1 license to 78 people, but—

1 Full license to 1,800 population
1 Beer license to 1,900 ,,
1 Off license to 1,424 ,,
1 Of all sorts of licences to 650 ,,

Waterford has more licensed premises for 26,760 people than Battersea has for 175,465— $7\frac{1}{4}$ times larger population.

The reason for this in Battersea is that whilst it has doubled its population it has not granted a full licence, but has pulled down some public houses, is abolishing several, and is anxious to dispose of more.

Battersea, with $7\frac{1}{4}$ times the population, has fewer public houses than Waterford. It is not an accident that whereas Battersea has less than 5 per 1,000 of its population arrested for drunkenness Waterford has 53 per 1,000 locked up per annum.

Surely the MEANS to do ill deeds make ill deeds done.

It is not an accident that one reads in Waterford Lunatic Asylum Report for 1902, that “28.7 per cent. of the patients “admitted were due to intemperance.”

Again in 1903 Report: “The most frequent cause of insanity “of those admitted was due to intemperance—23 per cent. ; and “hereditary predisposition—16.2 per cent.”

“Our race is dying. There are more old men and children “and fewer young men and women in Ireland than in any other “country. The death of the race can only be warded off by “acting in the living present.” So said John Redmond the other day. This is sadly true. But another Irishman—Michael Davitt—has said that “The fact that poor as Ireland is it wastes “over £14,000,000 a year, or £3 4s. per head on intoxicating “drinks, is a most deplorable one to dwell upon. Half that sum “needlessly wasted as it is now would set every woollen mill in “Ireland running to-morrow, and be thereby the means of keeping “our young people from running out of the country for want of “employment.”

This is also equally true. But the depopulation of Ireland is not made better by excessive drinking or improved by a disproportion of public houses to people, of drinking to means, and

the wasting of £3 4s. per head. These follies increase Ireland's difficulties by increasing police, poor, lunacy, criminal and other charges that ought to be diverted to houses, happy homes, furniture, and all the decent comforts that wisely-ordered thrift produces, and enables a nation to be free, because she first has learned to be sober. It is not an accident that Harold's soldiers suffered for their over-night carousals on the day they were defeated at Hastings, or that the Puritan Ironsides did so much, because so soberly, for the cause of liberty and democracy.

The Poles lost as much of their liberty from Russian liquor as they did from Russian arms. The Russian people themselves are chloroformed into the acceptance of despotism in no small measure by the prevalence of drunkenness amongst them.

The Red Indians succumbed to Bacchus, not to Mars, and in South-West and East Africa trade, gin has killed good people and destroyed good trade.

In England, Scotland and Wales, the common people are politically disinherited because of the political power that The Trade uses on every occasion for every public body when it has an interest to advance, a sordid aim to achieve, a drunken mission to promote—in the interests of rum and reaction.

It must never be forgotten in this connection what Cardinal Vaughan said in his passionate outburst against drink in August, 1899:—"Then the drink traffic—another product of a utilitarian age and of organised egotism. I am not in favour of closing all public houses, still less of a total suppression of the trade. But I hold that very different restrictions and regulations are demanded to those which prevail. The houses of the trade are studded over the most squalid and poorest districts, and are so many vampires sucking the life blood out of the bodies of the poor. I know of one district in which there are over three hundred drinking shops. They are traps baited to catch the poor man. They care not who come in—a labourer with his wages, a wife or mother in anguish and distress, a bright boy, a sickly girl, a little child, all are welcome have they only a copper. The coppers roll up into silver, the silver into gold, and gigantic fortunes are rapidly made. The rich become richer as they eat the flesh of the poor man and drink his blood without even a thought to the ruin of his soul. Disease, crime, and pauperism are perpetuated; sixty thousand persons a year perish through drink. Vain is the appeal to the Legislature, both Houses are too deeply interested in the trade as it stands. It is cruel and unjust to taunt the poor with their drunkenness. This vice, like extravagance, betting, gambling and irreligion, has filtered down to them from above. It is the richer class that is always tempting them to drink."

Lunacy in Scotland.

Since 1858 the population of Scotland has increased from 3,027,665 to 4,627,656, an increase of 52 per cent. From 1858 the number of lunatics has increased from 5,824 to 16,894, an increase of 190 per cent., or from

157	per 100,000	in 1858 to
250	per 100,000	in 1880 to
359	per 100,000	in 1903.

Alcoholic Insanity Increases in Scotland.

Alcoholic insanity steadily goes up. This year no less than 42.3 per cent. of all our men and 18 per cent. of our women—much the largest proportion we have ever had experience of—had excess in alcohol assigned as the cause of their insanity. In the five years, 1873-77, the percentage of alcoholic cases was only 18.5 among the men and 10.4 among the women admissions; it has steadily gone up, and now it has doubled. No explanation will account for this but the one that certain classes of our population are drinking to greater excess than they did, and in doing so are, many of them, destroying their sanity. Several facts seem to confirm this conclusion, *e.g.*, the increase of general paralysis referred to, which is now generally admitted to be caused by evil living, the increased drink bill of the Empire, and the increasing police arrests for the smaller offences connected with drunkenness. It is a satisfactory circumstance that, taking the private patients at Craig House alone, the alcoholic proportion was low, *viz.*, 9 per cent., and I find it has not increased in the past ten years. This strengthens the theory that the increase of drunkenness is confined to the lowest and most irresponsible stratum of society.

This statement of Dr. Clouston, of Edinburgh Asylum, is, in my judgment, a fair summary of the extent to which drink contributes to lunacy in Scotland generally. It is confirmed in similar, if varying figures, by other Scotch medical officers in other districts.

In 1902 there were 63,000 receptions of persons under sentence of imprisonment, this represents 46,000 separate individuals, of whom 16,600 were sentenced for first time. There were 59,000 sentences of a month or less, of these 34,000 were of seven days or less, 9,800 of three days or less.

As for the offences, 22,500 committals were for breaches of the peace; 17,800 for drunkenness; 5,900 for obscenity. Practically all these, 46,200, are offences arising from drink and drunken-

ness. And for all this mass of disorder, drunkenness, and obscenity arising from 46,200 drinking liquor, only one liquor seller was sent to prison for breach of licence certificate.

Making allowance for difference in means, method, character and quality of drink, and drinking habits and conditions in other parts of the United Kingdom, something similar in results would be found true of England and Wales and Ireland.

Of the increase amongst the working classes, too much of it springs from lack of restraint, imprudence, and shameful improvidence in the spending of larger wages in times of prosperity, as is proved by the diagrams of Dr. Stewart, the tables of Dr. Clouston and other official evidence.

The preceding figures reveal the fact, that as employment increases, wages rise, drinking follows, drunkenness keeps pace with increased means, lunacy steadily accompanies all three, and the minor crimes and disorders arising from increased drinking and its concomitant disorders, are the chief results that enlarged prosperity without self-respect bring to large masses of our poorest people.

This is not only a condemnation of society as it is, a fault partly due to fluctuations of employment, it is a reproach and a shame to the people themselves. To remedy such they alone are mainly responsible. This alas, gives point to the taunt directed at democracy by Napoleon when he said "Everything for the people—*nothing* by them."

Remedies.

We have in previous observations dealt with Drink as a chief factor in creating crime, disorder, dissipation, lunacy, illness, accidents, personal poverty, social misery, communal want, and national waste. But it is not enough to indulge in destructive arguments and negative illustrations. Our duty as practical reformers is to remedy, palliate, remove, and on the road to ultimate abandonment by an educated people of the chief source of their present ignorance and distress, to have stepping stones out of the swamps of drink-created misery. The chief stepping stone is that of personal abstinence—the best, as it is the first and most enduring of all remedies.

Then follows, in order of effectiveness, the policy of reduction of licences, of which Liverpool, Bournville, Battersea, London and other places are examples. To this policy I attach great importance, as I believe that in proportion to facilities given to certain sections of people, so are the opportunities for drinking and temptation increased.

“By their fruits ye shall know them.” I am a County Councillor and a Legislator, because in the main our virtues at Battersea are numerous and because our public houses are few.

The Reduction of Public Houses.

The policy of the London County Council in abandoning 133 has been questioned by a few. Its predecessors acquired 196 and allowed 146 of these to lapse. For myself, I strongly adhere to the policy of abandonment, as it removes a source of temptation and disorder, and by so doing enhances the value of remaining public property by an amount larger than the price of houses surrendered. The results have been good, as adjoining houses do not get the previous trade.

The best argument for reduction comes from Liverpool, which is so striking that the facts are worthy of being given here.

The area of Police and City increased from 6,524 to 15,092 acres, with 259 licensed houses. In thirteen years the population has been increased by 151,623. Drunkenness arrests dropped—

FROM	TO
16,042 in 1899	5,115 in 1903
14,680 in 1890	7,507 in 1904

and there are fewer police to larger area. And the chief cause, in my opinion, is that concurrently with stricter administration of police supervision, 486 licensed houses have disappeared.

Incidentally, in 1879 the percentage of worse-for-liquor cases among the police was 12.2 per cent., and the percentage of other offences, 8.9. In 1899 the percentage in the first cases was 3.8, and in the second, 2.8.

Of the increase of 1902-3 the explanation is given in Police Report on Drunkenness by Head Constable. 1903 Report:—“I venture to think that the improving state of the streets shows that the increase of prosecutions is proof, not of increasing number of offences, but of a stricter administration of the law, which will in time have the desired effect. The increase of prosecutions for drunkenness, however, has been more rapid within the past year owing, I am inclined to say, to the Licensing Act of 1902.”

TABLE SHEWING RESULTS OF LICENSING ADMINISTRATION IN
LIVERPOOL IN TWELVE YEARS (1890-1901).

Year.	Duration of Licensing Meeting.	Liquor Licences ended upon <i>any</i> grounds.			Public-houses and Beer-houses Licensed for Music, Singing, &c.	Persons proceeded against for Drunkenness.
	Days.	Full.	Beer.	Total.		
1890	—	5	+	5 = 10	—	16,042 (1889)
1891	8	11	+	8 = 19	348	14,680
(Pop'n.) 629,548						
1892	9	23	+	16 = 39	346	11,343
1893	9	24	+	12 = 36	136	9,005
1894	7	16	+	5 = 21	112	7,936
1895	5	17	+	10 = 27	104	5,657
1896	9	12	+	10 = 22	106	5,305
1897	11	12	+	8 = 20	101	5,026
1898	8	18	+	6 = 24	76	5,105
1899	10	16	+	13 = 29	62	4,339
1900	18	47	+	10 = 57	46	4,069
1901	10	28	+	7 = 35	38	4,180
(Pop'n.) 684,958						
1903		49	+	32 = 81	35	4,327
(Pop'n.) 716,810						
1904		40	+	26 = 66	32	5,115
						7,507
	Total	Reduction		... 486		

Effects of Increasing Public Houses.

It is interesting to come from the benefits resulting from reduction of liquor shops to the contrary effects that ensue from an increase of drinking facilities, and the most recent and deplorable comes from Belgium. Of this country (Belgium) the saying of the celebrated professor of political economy, the late Emile de Laveleye, is beginning to be realised: "Europe will soon look upon us as the drunken helot of Sparta." The following figures quoted by the Governor of Hainaut, at the opening of the Provincial Council (July 7th, 1903), confirms his belief:—

"Belgium, where public libraries are almost unknown, enjoys 190,000 public houses; that means one public house for thirty-six inhabitants, or one public house for twelve men above seventeen years of age, the publican included! During the last fifty years the population has increased 50 per cent.; the number of the public houses 258 per cent. All these 'honest trade-establishments' are prosperous. In the period 1890-1901 the average quantity of alcohol at 40 degrees drunken has been 67,326,000 gallons each year, namely, more than 2.42 gallons a head. And the beer? In the same four years, 1,714,592,000 gallons have been necessary to quench the gigantic thirst of the Belgians.

"A Belgian drinks each year 55 gallons of beer, an Englishman only $32\frac{1}{2}$ gallons, and a German $27\frac{1}{2}$. We must add the wines, 25,850,000 gallons imported from 1898 to 1901.

"The sum total of the money spent on alcoholic drinks altogether: about £21,040,000 a year, or £57,600 a day, namely, £3 4s. for each inhabitant each year, or £14 4s. for each family.

"This budget is indeed unwisely spent, and the Belgian people has its money's worth! Alcoholism gives him 80 per cent. of the suicides, 74 per cent. of the condemnations to imprisonment, 79 per cent. of the poor-house boarders, 45 per cent. of the cases of insanity, 43 per cent. of the accidents in mines and factories, 17 to 20 per cent. of the other diseases. To end this sad and dry enumeration allow me a striking comparison; while the salaries of all the Belgian female workers do not reach £20,000,000 annually, their fellow-citizens consume each year £21,040,000 of alcoholic liquors.

"In Brussels and in many other towns and villages," says M. Henri Anet, M.A., B.D., "you could easily find streets where each third house is a bar. The little town where I live counts 6,000 inhabitants and 250 public houses; all the houses of the large town hall square are pot-houses without any exception.

“The traveller in Belgium does not see many drunkards stumbling in the streets, unless he be unfortunate enough to come into one of our industrial districts on a drawing day for the conscription. The police are here gentle in dealing with the disciples of Bacchus, yet it may be admitted that the cases of scandalous public inebriety are comparatively rare. In Great Britain, a minority of citizens drink a fearful quantity of very strong liquors and beers; in Belgium, the great majority of the citizens, men and also women, consume slowly but regularly a larger quantity of somewhat weaker drinks. We have also our notorious pot-companions; but, what is still worse for public health and morality, there is a vast number of alcoholics. The ignorant workers, as well as shop-people and clerks, spend long hours in the *cabarets*, or public houses; this social disease, which destroys all family life, is so widely spread that a new word has been coined for it: ‘*le cabarétisme*.’

“Alcohol has indeed a strong hold on the country, because it gratifies the passions of some and the interests of others. The publicans are, with the priests, the real rulers of Belgium, all the elections being made at the confessional or in the public houses. No wonder if our government and members of Parliament seem not very anxious to fight against this national danger!

“M. Vandervelde, the leader of the Socialists, never loses an opportunity of speaking with real courage against alcoholism. Lately the general council of the Socialist party has decided that the selling of intoxicating drinks shall be forbidden in all the ‘Maisons du Peuple,’ or meeting halls of the party.”

I am delighted to say that this action of the Belgian Socialists has been followed up by the German Social Democrats passing a resolution against alcohol and its degenerative effects.

A Great Counter Attraction—Rapid Transit to Better Homes.

I attach also, based on experience, great importance to the conveyance of workmen from the soul-destroying slum and the man-killing beershop to the healthier, cleaner suburbs. The experience is that suburbia everywhere will not stand the liquor trade as it is tolerated in densely occupied districts. The effect of electric trams has already shown itself in three places. In Judicial Statistics, 1902, the Chief Constable of Newcastle-on-Tyne says of the electric tram as a temperance educator in decreasing drunkenness: “The facilities now afforded by the

“ tramways system, by which workmen are able to proceed at once to their homes, clean up, and have their teas before commencing to drink.”

In October, 1904, at the annual meeting of the Bath Brewery, Limited, the diminution of beer drinking amongst the people and workmen was attributed to the rapidity with which, by means of electric trams, they are carried past places of temptation on their way home from work. The printed report of this satisfactory statement reads as follows :—

“ Speaking at the annual meeting of the Bath Brewery, Ltd., held in Bath, October 14th, 1904, when it was reported that there would be nothing with which to pay either preference or ordinary dividends, the chairman (Colonel H. F. Clutterbuck), remarked that they were not alone in feeling a great loss of business, for the beer trade had been extremely bad throughout the country. He had spoken to the chairman of one of the largest of the London breweries, and he informed him that trade was terrible, and he did not know what they would do. He also saw the manager of another big brewery in London, and he confirmed what he was now saying. The trade seemed to keep up better in the case of the houses in the country than those in the towns. Why that was it was very difficult to say. He thought himself that it was partly due, perhaps, to the fact that the nation was growing more sober, and education came from the towns first, and also, he thought, it was largely due to the better housing of the working classes. A man nowadays, instead of going home to a dirty, untidy cottage, full of children in one room, found that his house was more comfortable. He could get back probably in most towns on a tramcar, which also saved him a great deal of temptation. He paid his penny in the morning, and he went out to his work, and he was carried past those houses at which he used to call on his way back to home, where he found comforts. He had heard this explanation given by others besides himself, and, of course, they rejoiced very much that that was the case. They did not want to sell their beer at the cost of the poor man.”

The latter sentiments do infinite credit to the chairman, who deserves all praise for sinking his private interest in the public good, even at the cost of public houses.

The most interesting, as it is most amusing, is a letter addressed to me in 1903, as follows :—

“ Sir,—As a Socialist, I have always welcomed municipal enterprise, but was told the other day by the landlord of the ‘ Donkey with Long Ears,’ that the half-penny tram fares were doing publicans a lot of harm. They frequently saw former

“ customers pass by on the trams. Previous to the half-penny fares, they walked and had half-a-pint here and there. This seems to be an injustice, robbing the ‘pubs’ of their best customers, namely, gasworkers, enginemen, etc. The fares ought to be rose, so that 6d. or a 1s. would be spent in the ‘pubs’ instead of a half-penny on the car.

“ Yours respectfully,
“ _____.”

This gentleman must have been reading recent defences of drinking as a means, in his judgment, perhaps the only means, of maintaining the standard of comfort, and getting his publican the equitable share of the surplus value.

The result of this creation of suburban estates, and colonies of brighter, larger, and cleaner homes, to which men are conveyed by cheap and rapid traction, is one of the best, as it is the wisest ways of fighting drink.

It also has the converse effect of bringing suburban and country people into the towns to see art galleries, museums, securing healthy musical and dramatic entertainments free from drink, and relieving the monotony of suburban and the petty tyranny of rural life. Hence the cause of diversion to drink.

Industrial Remedies.

But there are other things to do. Work is to be made more pleasant and less monotonous and repellent than it is. All dusty, dirty, disagreeable occupations that are carried on in hot places, work that induces perspiration, are predisposed to drink.

Non-alcoholic drinks, suitable clothes, bathing facilities, will generate self-respect in the workers, bring relief to all the organs of the body that are now stimulated first and then depressed by drink; as a result, indigestion, malnutrition, sickness, lethargy, alternated by violent toil and bad temper, arises, and these are accentuated by recourse to drinking.

What can be done is illustrated by the Factory Inspector's report this year for Lancashire:—

“ During 1903 an experiment was tried by a Lancashire firm of cotton spinners who were desirous of relieving the fatigue of their workers during the latter part of the day. About 4 o'clock every afternoon a cup of tea (with milk and sugar) and a slice of freshly cut bread and butter were provided at a charge of one half-penny. For one penny a week the same firm supplied a small jug of milk at breakfast and another at dinner time to each of the workers, who were therefore not compelled to drink their tea without milk as most cotton

“operatives do. At the same mills other matters tending to health and comfort—such as ventilation, electric light, etc.—had also received attention, and I was assured that a distinct improvement was noticeable in the health and appearance of the workers since these points had been dealt with. Evidence in the same direction is frequently coming under my observation, and there is no doubt in my mind that much has been and can be done by sympathetic employers to improve the comfort, vigour and physique of their workers by a little personal attention to matters such as those mentioned above.”

In addition to above, the provision of proper mess rooms, dining halls, places and seats where in the meal hours work-people can eat, sit and rest would all tend to sobriety and less use of the public house.

Where trades and callings such as that of coachman, cabman, carman, coal-heaver, hair-dresser, musician, etc., give unlimited opportunities for access to liquor, there alcoholic excess, illness and mortality are high. When low wages, precarious employment, long or irregular hours of work prevail, then liquor is extensively resorted to as a stimulant, food (?), or excitable alternative to monotonous work, dreary lives and drab outlook.

The extent to which drink and irregular employment produces crime and disorder is revealed by a study of the habits of a large number of casual labourers, who alternate between London work and hop picking. The short, the simple annals of the poor hopper are too often illustrated by records in the papers like this:—

“Last Monday, at the North London Police Court, appeared fifty prisoners; to-day there were only sixteen.” Questioned as to the reason for the reduction the police gave as the reason: “Gone hopping.”

“At Southwark, September 7th, there were only twelve prisoners for trial, nine of whom were charged with nothing more serious than drunkenness. This is attributed to the wholesale exodus to the hop fields. It is estimated that 10,000 men and women have left the Borough for Kent. It really means, said an official, a continual holiday for the police until they return.”

No one who knows where these poor people live will contend that they can subsist on cheap and coarse food—too often tinned food, the greatest stimulants to neurotic drunkenness I know of. But we must admit that they only share with society the responsibility for their condition.

And society must not be pedantic or too scrupulous as to how this condition should be altered. I am for all the ways: personal abstinence, fewer public houses, more publicans in gaol for selling

these people liquor, greater police stringency, and other social deterrents on the road through amelioration to the permanent remedy; regular work, better homes, higher wages, and a brighter environment for rough people, who on the whole have good instincts, and with encouragement would rise on their disordered selves to better things.

The remedy for this is to make regular what is now casual, and by educating self-respect and, where necessary, enforcing greater strictness against drinking. The provision of better eating houses would do much, as is shown by the improvement wrought by the cabmen's shelters in London.

Trades Cursed by Liquor.

BAKER.

It has been said of the baker that "He is an old man at forty, thin, bloodless, often flat-footed, and a martyr to rheumatism. He is subject to asthma, bronchitis, and consumption, owing to the foul air and the extremes of temperature in which he works." Furthermore, he ranks third in suicide, seventh in alcoholism, and eleventh in diseases of liver. The abolition of the underground bakehouse, the disappearance of artificial light, the incoming of clean work-places, has, I am delighted to say, already improved the baker's condition, as it has increased his sobriety.

Another liquor cursed trade, because of overwork and bad conditions, is that of the

LAUNDRESS.

One in 6 suffer from bad legs (1 in 25 other women); 1 in 10 phthisis (1 in 20 other women). Wet, badly ventilated work-places, monotonous, hard work—too often for drunken husbands or relatives. Can you wonder at them flying to drink, which makes it worse; the incentive is there in the long hours, low wages, overwork, underfed, and general low standard of comfort, to raise which is our duty; the result will be diminished drinking.

THE CHIMNEY SWEEP.

The chimney sweep is useful, necessary, and indispensable. His mortality is one-third higher than the ordinary male. Where 13 people die of alcoholism 59 sweeps die, and in diseases of the heart, chest, lungs and kidneys, and suicide, he is double the average; whilst he dies of cancer 3 to 4 times quicker than the ordinary male.

Except improving the method of working and dress, in which a great deal can be done, the chief remedy rests with him ; if he drinks less he will live longer and have fewer diseases, if not the man with the broom will accompany sooner than he should the man with the scythe.

There are other dangerous trades that predispose to drink, such as red lead workers. The following extracts from Dr. Oliver and others will suffice :—

“Owing to the hard nature of their work and exposure to heat they often indulge in alcoholic drinks.”

“It is necessary in these workmen to distinguish between symptoms that are caused by their occupation and those caused by alcohol.”

“Sometimes the ill-health of the workmen is due to the continued influence of alcohol and lead.

“Of the causes that predispose to disease, mention must be made of poverty, bad feeding, and of excessive indulgence in alcohol.”

“Red lead workers are often anæmic, they suffer from colic. Owing to the hard nature of their work and exposure to heat they often indulge in alcoholic drinks. Sometimes the ill-health of the workmen is due to the combined influence of alcohol and lead.”

“There is not the least doubt, so far as lead intoxication is concerned, that alcoholic excess explains the rapid impregnation of the system with lead and the severer forms of poisoning that plumbism occasionally assumes.”

“Predisposition on the part of potters to lead poisoning,” says Mr. Burton, “is much influenced by the habits and home life of the individual. Experience shows that those who are addicted to drink are the first to fall victims.” This the workmen can avoid by abstinence from liquor.

But there is much to be done in the factories and workshops by employers, and if not by them willingly, by the Factory Inspectors, as recent results have shown in the reduction of illness, accident and death, by cleaner, improved and safer processes, many of which the workmen, especially the drinking workmen, reluctantly adopt. The local authorities of districts where dirty and dangerous trades are carried on, can also do a great deal by improving the sanitation and environment of such industrial centres.

The recent description by Mr. Owen of some places in the Potteries, Black Country, and in the chemical districts of Lancashire and elsewhere, are a standing disgrace to all concerned. Their dull, dirty and disagreeable surroundings are

enough to make a bishop drink and an archbishop become an anarchist. How can you expect the cheerful spirit, the kindly temper, the sober character, the saintly disposition, the clean home, when such conditions prevail in many places. Consider the following extracts :—

“ The Potteries is thus and inevitably mainly a place of muddy squalid streets, insignificant public buildings, smoky atmosphere, pot-works, and higgledy piggledy rows of small houses.”

“ The Potteries from several special causes is unutterably unlovely.”

“ You may pass down a street to find that its exit is barred by a mound of ashes higher than the houses.”

THE CHEMICAL WORKER.

That able and kindly sociologist, Mr. Vaughan Nash, gives this description of the conditions of labour and the domestic environment of a class of labour, the conditions of which must predispose to drink or hopelessness.

“ The story of their daily and nightly toil is told by the faces “ and forms of the worn, dejected men who pass you in the “ streets, by the deaths from respiratory diseases, which carry off “ the strongest men before their time, by the evidence of horrible “ sufferings from neglect, contact with the biting lime, of teeth “ rotted away by the salt cake fumes, scars, and sometimes blind- “ ness from caustic burning, by vitrol burns, and the “ deadly nausea, the recurring exhaustion and fearfully pro- “ tracted toil. And not the works only, but the homes where the “ men seek to fit themselves by sleep for the next twelve hours’ “ spell ; the streets which they pass in going to and fro from “ work, nay the very country side, if they have the heart and “ energy to reach it, reek with the foul fumes with which the “ chemical company deluge and pollute the air and land.”

Let the Rev. R. J. Campbell, or the Archbishop of Canterbury work in a Black Ash shed, live in a dilapidated hovel in a stink-house yard, next door to a railway arch, with a bone factory next door and a guano factory over the way—they would both become chronic dipsomaniacs.

Concurrently with denouncing the evils of drink amongst workmen, everybody must elevate their industrial lot. Not only for their sakes, but for the interests of the State as a whole. But the chief help must come from the workers themselves, who need to be fired with a noble discontent, and must abandon drink, because liquor sterilises hope, dulls aspiration, and deadens all desire for individual elevation and social improvement.

Women's Labour.

"The mere fact of a wife working at all is an incentive to domestic disorder and squalor. She goes her 'way after hours' and he goes his, and it is no unusual thing for wife and husband, each with their following, to meet in the same public house and treat each other." So says Mr. Owen in the "Staffordshire Potter."

The remedy for this in my judgment is to minimise married women's labour in factories and workshops. The effect of this would be to guarantee greater domestic happiness to husband and better care to children, and to diminish incentives to drinking.

Dr. Scott, of Glasgow, said before the Physical Deterioration Committee: "A great deal of Glasgow intemperance is due to this ill-cooked food, and they want something that will rouse them."

In some parts of Lancashire, 30, 33 and 37 per cent. of total women employed are married. Speaking of their offspring the Report of Physical Deterioration Committee says: "The infants are of a miserable, debased type in a large number of cases." And it seems as if no amount of nourishment could build up a healthy child. The sad fact of all this is that the resultant infantile mortality is two to three times more amongst working women's children than the servant-keeping class—200 to 300 per 1,000 as against 90.

This evil can never be stopped so long as mothers in factories sublet their maternity and sub-contract their sustenance to incompetent nurses, and incidentally deprive the husband, who ought to be the main or sole bread-winner, of good food and home comforts, and in their absence furnishes him with excuses and reasons for going to the public house instead of staying at home.

Environment.

Speaking of certain parts of Manchester, Mr. Horsfall said before Physical Deterioration Committee:—

"The condition of the air by its direct effect on lungs and skin is the cause of much disease and physical deterioration. By cutting off much of the scant supply of sunlight which is all that Manchester at best would be allowed by its gloomy climate to receive, it injures health. The filthiness of the air makes the inhabitants of all parts of Manchester who value cleanliness most unwilling to ventilate their dwellings. By killing nearly all vegetation and by its other effects, the foulness of the air contributes much to that general gloominess of the town which

“ led Mr. Justice Day to say, in explanation of the prevalence of
 “ drunkenness in the town ‘that to get drunk is the shortest way
 “ out of Manchester.’ ”

This operates prejudicially, as the poor alone are left, and the poor never complain about home, dirt, or inefficient sanitation.

In altering this it is not sufficient to rebuke the man who flies from the dirty factory, in the muddy lane, to the small home wedged in between a chemical works and an evil-smelling bone factory, and thence to the public house, not because he really needs it, but because those who with him are responsible for his environment, give him no alternative to the pleasure that degrades and the excitement that defiles.

The rich, the sober, the comfortable, the poor, and even the drinker, must all combine through common civic action to humanise industry, moralise the worker, elevate the home, sweeten the surroundings, and provide something better than hovels for workmen to live in, drink as a diversion, and monotonous toil as a livelihood in foul and noisome surroundings.

To this end, however, sobriety and personal character, which drink always emasculates, is necessary as the means to secure these desirable and elevating conditions.

Clubs.

I am against clubs as an alternative to public houses ; as a remedy for heavy drinking they are nearly as bad as the disease. They are mostly hypocritical pretexts for getting the same or worse liquor at a cheaper price, and at times when public houses are not open. It requires some moral courage to get publicly drunk in the open bar of a licensed tavern, it requires little or none to steadily soak or swiftly swill in the front parlour of a drinking club down a back street, whose only reason for its existence is that it enables people to hide their drink under a social bushel or a literary excuse.

I share the view of that life-long friend of the people, Mr. J. C. Buckmaster, who, in the “ Times,” December 7th, 1901, said :—

“ In a few years many of them gravitated into places no better, if so good, as a decent public house. They kept open for hours when public houses were closed, some joined gambling with drinking, and become places of the most dangerous and objectionable kind, especially for young men.

“ Here was a movement started under the most favourable conditions for providing men with everything which the trust proposes, ruined by the introduction of drink. Experience has

“taught me that the working man cannot be trusted in the matter of drink.”

The Lord Mayor of Manchester, at the 1903 Licensing Session, speaking of “The Club Evil,” said:—

“Last year he pointed out that the practical effect of the compulsory registration of clubs would be nil, and such experience has proved it to be. That clubs were responsible for a large amount of drunkenness was only too apparent. In Manchester during the past year no less than 1,308 persons were locked up by the police for drunkenness in the streets from one o'clock to six o'clock a.m., and none of these persons could by any possible means have obtained their liquor from licensed houses. On a very moderate estimate, 2,000 cases of drunkenness in Manchester are traceable to the clubs.”

When it is recorded that in ten years “352 clubs have been closed during that period, owing directly or indirectly to the action of the Police or Excise,” surely no greater condemnation could be passed upon them as alternatives to public houses. The recent experience is no better, as in 1903 over 100 clubs have been struck off the register by magistrates, or closed in anticipation of the operation of the Act. It is possible also for them to be described by partners in the same business of supplying drink as they were at the Licensed Victuallers National Defence League in September, 1904, when the President of that League (the Mayor of Bridgnorth) declared “that the horrible night scenes in the streets of drunkenness and debauchery were largely due to the clubs.”

When one reads the chapters in Mr. C. Booth's book on Clubs, one is still further confirmed in the view that where clubs do not lead to drink, little or much, they lead to the desertion of home and to the abandonment of minor domestic and social obligations amongst the rich as well as the poor.

The fact that there are 6,500 of these with 1,000,000 members has two sides ; one is that if men had good attractive homes they would not need the clubs, and when they are not good clubs, as some of them are, the others are worse than public houses, because they are mere pretexts for drinking without the courage that other drinkers display.

“Many clubs (not, it is hardly necessary to add, any of those in the Union) have been the centre of prosecutions in connection with betting and gambling.” So remarks Mr. B. T. Hall.

Municipalities and Drink.

The last thing that municipalities should touch, like individuals, is liquor. It will not discourage drinking if it is made cheaper or better, and being both, as municipal control or ownership will make it, the consumption will probably be extended. If the "Fox and Hounds"—an appropriate title—is run by the Watch Committee, it will be bad for police, public and magistrates.

Ownership by the City will elevate drinking into a civic virtue, boozing will be a test of local patriotism, and workpeople will drink their village into a free library or a park by a process that will land many into the hospital, some into gaol, a great number into asylums, all into misery, and send not a few to the cemetery.

NO! Drink, even in municipal moderation is exalted beyond its proper place in the human anatomy and domestic economy.

Bismarck once said of dining, that people ought not to eat off or above the table, the proper place was underneath.

If that be true of gross feeders it is doubly true of great drinkers. It is a waste of time, of effort, of money, of commercial service. It gives to a small demand of nature the attributes of a feast, a function, or an exalted public duty. The municipalisation of drink will add to the glamour, as it will to the nuisance of drinking customs.

Besides there is other and better work in combating drink than by municipalising it, which is the worse possible way to abate the evils of alcoholism.

The sphere of the municipality is not only to leave drink alone, but to fight it in a more excellent way than by running public houses.

Concurrently with early closing, reduction of houses, greater strictness and deterrents in every aspect of drinking facilities, there is a more excellent way and use for public rates and civil energy.

The way is to concentrate on counter attractions. Build libraries, make parks, recreation grounds for summer; folks' halls for winter, where music, flowers, games, gymnastics, billiards, bagatelle, chess, whist, and all the parlour games for men and women, boys and girls, will be made accessible to those with limited homes.

"City Council Arms"?—Never!

Council counter attractions?—Yes; ever, always!

Above all give the people homes, more homes, larger, cleaner, sweeter; if not in the city, by rapid and cheap transit in the suburbs.

Abolish the slum. Enlarge the home. Raise wages. Improve the sanitation, appearance, environment of the factories and workshops, humanise industry—then the tendency of labour will not be to seek degradation in drink or low company in public houses.

Convert the schools into club rooms, where friendly societies and trade unions, and all working class thrift and other organisations can meet and do their business. Disestablish the public house as a house of call, divest it of all the functions, tradition and accessories that through the ages it has taken to itself from local life, civic interest, social attractiveness. Divert to the city hall, the local library, the municipal concert hall, the park, gymnasium, and municipal parlours what drink has craftily yoked to its chariot—then the beginning of the end of the reign of King Bung will have commenced.

Liquor on Politics.

The corruption of municipal life in America, the ascendancy of Tammany, the subornation of the police, the general degradation of civic life there, is due to the saloon. It is as true now as in 1878, when Wendell Phillips declared that "New York was ruled by drunkards, is proof of the despotism of the dram-shop. Men whom murderers serve that they may escape, and because they have escaped the gallows, rule that city. State laws are defied in their streets, and by means of the dram-shop and the gilded saloons of fashionable hotels, their ballot box is in the hands of the criminal classes of men who annually and systematically defy the laws."

In Manchester you know the influence of "The Trade" on the people, on the police, and on Parliament, through your Premier. It fortunately has failed to influence your judges, and in over-reaching itself has done a public good and roused the electorate as to their duty in municipal and parliamentary elections. That duty is never to return a man interested in "The Trade," nor support any man, Liberal or Labour, Tory or Socialist, who will not pledge himself to oppose drink in all its forms. Say with George Eliot, when you exercise your duties of citizenship:—

"My gall rises at the rich brewers in Parliament, and out of it, who plant these poison shops for the sale of their million-maiming trade, while probably their families are figuring away somewhere as refined philanthropists, devout evangelicals, or ritualists." Think of this and vote accordingly.

Liquor and the Land Question.

There is no doubt that urban overcrowding is an incentive to spirit drinking, that density means drink, not only in population and in mental obtuseness, but in moral sensitiveness and parental regard. The urbanisation of people means the extension of alcoholism unless accompanied by pleasant and mildly-exciting counter attractions and diversions. Through dearth of land, lack of rural homes, the resultant density of city population means the barrack dwellings, the warehousing of the women and children, the public housing of the men, and the workhousing of their aged dependents.

Liquor has, with certain sections, become the lodestone attracting to excitable urban centres men who would be better off if they were not landless men in the country, therefore homeless nomads in the towns, flying to drink to satisfy a craving that a better lot in the village would allay or remove.

“Treating and Footings.”

Many of the worst drinking habits of workmen arise from the best instinct, fellowship, and from the good quality generosity. In the absence of the good and large home, the workmen often treat each other. The fear of being regarded as mean induces many to treat others beyond what they want; and to consume more than they themselves desire. Either way, all of them lose, the generous most, and the only people who gain are the brewers, whose liquor on Saturdays is often regarded as being worse than on other days. Treating should be abandoned. Footings should be discontinued, and men should leave work and go straight home. If they want to treat anybody treat the wife and children to a ride or a walk. If it be true, and I am afraid it is, that women drink more than they did, it is partly due to the monotony of their work and to the fact that their husbands are self-centred in their pleasures, games and clubs.

Review.

In spite of all I have said as to the cost, waste, misery, lunacy, crime, debauchery and degradation that all phases of the drinking habit lead to; in spite of there being more money, which to many means only more drink; in spite of there being relatively much drinking, there is absolutely less drunkenness, taking the country

as a whole. In proportion to employment, means, opportunity and example shown to them in certain quarters, the working people as a class are ever so much more sober than they were, and even with the drinking section it is not so heavy nor so bestial as it was. All around there are evidences of great strides in the direction of sobriety, but this reform must be at an accelerated pace.

The repulsion against the drinker is growing.

The feeling against the drunkard is intensifying.

He is better tabulated than he was. We know more about him than we did, and much of the apparent increase is due to better knowledge, greater vigilance and less sympathy for the drinker's failings. The increase in recent years of ratio of arrests for drunkenness to population is mainly due to greater public activity.

Public opinion is hardening against the cost of lunacy, crime, and poverty that drink causes.

The decadent, blasé, upper class that have pandered to drink either for personal profit or for class ascendancy have had their day.

"The Trade" representative in Parliament is found out. "The Trade" Government is located, and universally, "The Trade" has a stormy future in front of it. Palliatives are entrenching upon its stronghold. Remedial legislation is undermining its vested interests, and the last Licensing Bill's real object was to anticipate the declining hold of "The Trade" by buying it out ere it was financially damaged by the changing habits of the people, which when once wisely directed, will leave the present deadly forms of drinking, carousal, and dissipation behind.

Already the tide of indignation has set in against drink. Many rich persons who were indifferent see the peril to the nation. The best of the working people see the evil of liquor, as the mass of them are steadier than their recent critics believe, and realise how it is assailing their best characteristics. They see how it substitutes for Spartan resolution, iron will and moral courage that even the very poor can and do generally display, the squalor, dirt, meanness, dependence and abandoned hopelessness that every drink infested district reveals. Many now see that it is not always the pigstye, it is too often the pig. In the same street, on the same side, next door to each other, one family on the same wage, the same rent, the same burdens, but with dissimilar tastes and different thirsts will reveal the difference in their homes, lives, families, and outlook, that is as revolting in one as cheerful in the other.

Summary.

Although there is always more drinking in good times than bad, the last period of prosperity falls behind the preceding one in severity of excess and drunkenness.

There is more drinking but less drunkenness, and if this is developed as in Belgium and France, as much harm over many as excessive drinking over a small section will occur.

Beer is getting lighter if more provocative to disagreeable disposition.

Spirit is more diluted than it was in the drinking. When consumed neat as it too often is in Scotland, Ireland and parts of England and Wales, the results are as ever disastrous.

Much drinking is hereditary, either through personal inherited predisposition in the individual or by the continued pressure of persistently bad, dull, and unhealthy conditions of work, leisure, and domestic environment in local areas and districts.

There is a strong desire on the part of all the poor to cut themselves adrift from the curse of liquor, the taint of drink, to wipe out the heavy mortgage on health that poverty stricken surroundings imposes upon the helpless poor by luring them to drink. There is a healthier, because more tolerant, spirit abroad to combat drink not only by preaching abstinence, but by adopting all and every means to substitute for what prevails, transient palliatives, passing correctives, all of which will tend to the ultimate repression of our national evil. In so doing, we shall hasten the permanent and greatest boon—the abandonment of liquor by all who labour. For these, the greatest prize, the only reward for those who toil, is the leisure that springs from sober enjoyment, the pleasure that comes from fellowship without drink, and the treasure that is now wasted on a custom that is as vicious as its gratification is wasteful and demoralising.

And I urge you to remember that fact, that *luxury, idleness, vulgar misuse of wealth, frivolity, gambling, and cynical indifference* is growing amongst the ignorant upper classes, who presume to govern you. These tendencies, if developed, means devolving upon the working classes greater power, efficiency, courage, and character. These governing virtues are incompatible with drink, drunkenness, or the disorders and incapacity that spring from them. If we are to instal a democracy in power, exalt its leaders to office, elevate a people to the judgment seat, that democracy must be sober, its leaders must not drink, and the working people must be superior to the temptations of liquor in all its forms.

Appeal.

I can only say that in the course of a strenuous life, both in youth and manhood, workshop, City Council, and Imperial Parliament, in all the active and varied phases of a notably vigorous career, I have done what I have for the poor in so far as I have avoided liquor, tobacco, and have combined hard work and high thinking with simple tastes and simpler drinking.

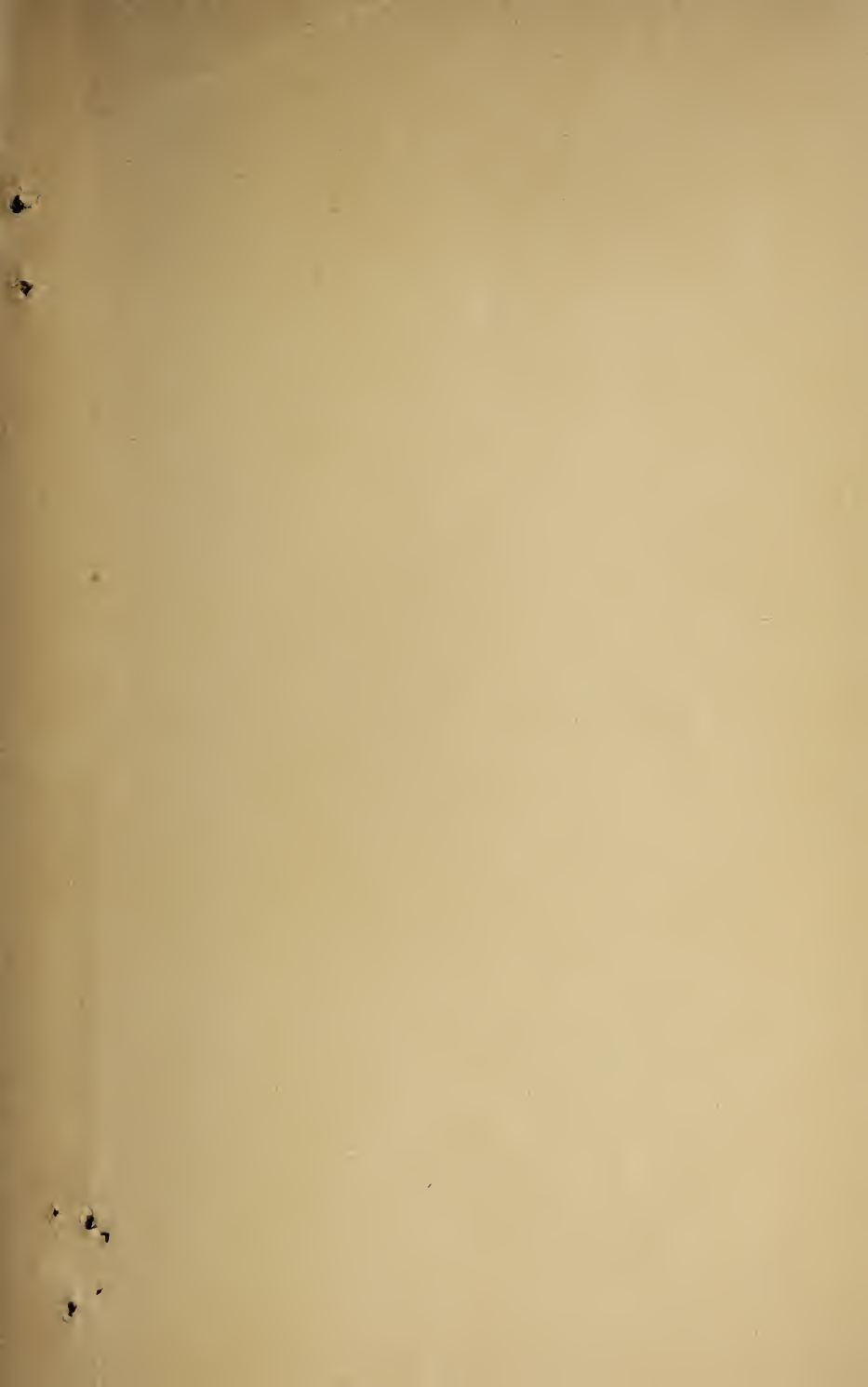
But perhaps more remarkable still, is the fact that I am only in Parliament and the London County Council because I have the good fortune to represent in London a community of people, 40,000 of whom are comprised in five estates: Shaftesbury, Queen's, Beaufoy, Latchmere and Lavender Hill Estates, with few licensed premises thereon.

A petition in boots to Parliament from a sober district against liquor, because it is a danger to labour, a menace to health, and an enemy of the commonwealth.

As such I have addressed you because I am entrusted with a mandate from the working classes in the offices I hold. I have advised you to abandon drinking in your own interest and chided you because I love you. I have warned you because I work for you. I have informed you because it is my duty as it is my privilege to be one of your guides, let us hope philosopher, but certainly your friend.

I appeal to you, the best, because you are the freest, and in many ways the greatest working class in the world, to renounce drink, because it prevents you walking quickly, boldly, and firmly, the straight but narrow path that individuals, classes and nations must tread if they wish to reach the goal of personal health, social happiness, communal culture and national greatness. It is your duty, as I believe it is your destiny, to pioneer that path in elevating the lot of those who labour, not only for your trade, but for your home, your country and the race, and for the comfort and happiness, because sobriety of mankind.







3 0112 072500561